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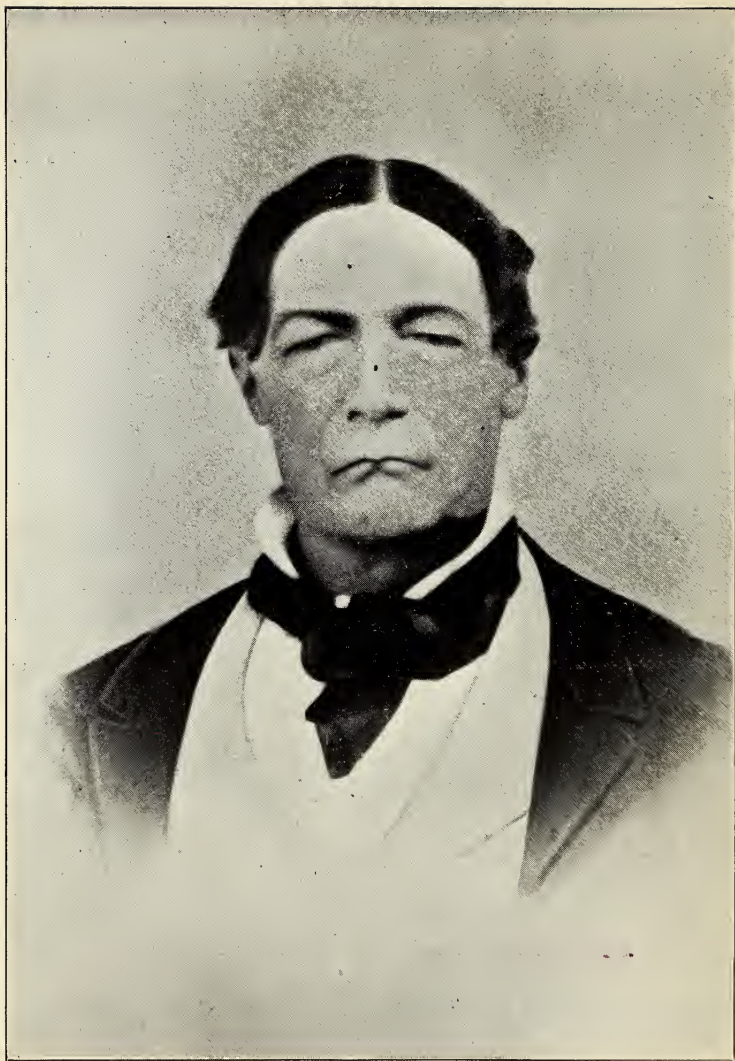
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WILLIAM WALKER,
Provisional Governor of Nebraska Territory.

THE
PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT
OF
NEBRASKA TERRITORY

AND
THE JOURNALS OF WILLIAM WALKER
PROVISIONAL GOVERNOR OF NEBRASKA TERRITORY

EDITED BY

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PREFACE.

It is now almost twenty years since I commenced the collection of original documents relating to the early history of Nebraska Territory. Those published in this work are a portion of the collection which I have made. They were obtained principally from the Wyandots, now either dead or living in the Indian Territory; for few of them remain yet at the old home at the confluence of the Missouri and Kansas Rivers. I found them anxious to have these papers preserved; for this purpose they gave them to me. I have been given all the assistance that the Wyandots could render as well in this as in all matters pertaining to their history, manners, customs, and ancient religious beliefs. It was my good fortune to have the confidence of Matthias Splitlog, H. M. Northrup, Mrs. Lucy B. Armstrong, the Walkers, the Zanes, the Longs, and other prominent Wyandot families, for the whole time of my residence in the Wyandot Purchase at the mouth of the Kansas River.

When there was nothing remaining to be learned on these subjects from one person or family I took up the work with another, and this led me to visit the Indian Territory to see and talk with the Wyandots on the Reservation at the Quapaw Agency. I was kindly received by the Wyandots there, and they assisted me to the full extent of their ability. I wish to mention particularly the services and aid that Mr. Alfred Mudeater and his excellent wife gave to this work. In addition to the generous hospitality which I enjoyed in their home, Mr. Mudeater was always ready to take me to

any part of the Wyandot Reserve that I desired to visit, or to send for and bring any Wyandot to his house that I desired to see and converse with. In the matter of recollections of the customs, manners, and history of the Wyandots, I am more indebted to Mrs. Sarah Dagnett than to any one else there; but Hon. Silas Armstrong was of great assistance to me. I have never asked a single Wyandot for information that was not freely given to the extent of his knowledge and ability.

In addition to those mentioned above and in another part of this work, I desire to mention the following persons that have aided me in this work: William Walker McMullan, of Kansas City, Kansas, grandson of Governor Walker; Miss Jessie S. McAlpine, granddaughter of Joel Walker; Miss Carrie Hamlin, granddaughter of Isaiah Walker; Jacob Guthrie, of Coffeyville, Kansas, and James Guthrie, of Chetopa, Kansas, and their wives; Mr. Russel B. Armstrong¹ and wife; Miss Mina Lane¹; Mrs. Frank H. Betton¹; M. T. Betton¹; Miss Florence Betton¹; Rev. C. W. Backus¹; Mrs. A. B. Northrup¹; Kenneth L. Browne¹; John A. Hale¹; James S. Gibson¹; J. B. Garrett¹ (married Governor Walker's daughter Martha); John S. Stockton¹; Mrs. Carrie Lofland²; John R. Matney³; the Robitaille brothers, Wyandotte, Indian Territory; and William Bearskin. Eldredge H. Brown and his family were very obliging and gave me valuable assistance. The Cotters, Zanes, and many other Wyandot families aided me.

Hon. F. G. Adams, Secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, has been particularly helpful to me; and I am indebted for aid to Hon. John Speer, President of the Society.

Mordecai Oliver, one of the members of the Congressional Committee to investigate the Border Ruffian troubles, gave

¹ Kansas City, Kan.

² Seneca, Mo.

³ Argentine, Kan.

me much valuable information of those incidents and transactions on the border that so aroused the whole country.

Judge William Cecil Price, of Springfield, Mo., gave me much very valuable information concerning the political conditions existing in Missouri during the period covered in this work.

As to the historical value of the documents published herein I prefer to let them speak for themselves. That they supply a want in the history of Nebraska and Kansas which has been felt by all writers on the subject, will, I believe, be readily admitted. For some of them I searched unsuccessfully for fifteen years both in Wyandotte county, Kansas, and the Indian Territory.

As a large part of this work is devoted to the Journals of Governor William Walker a few words here in relation to them may not be amiss.

Governor Walker did not write his Journals for publication. While he would never have objected to having them made public he never once thought of their becoming valuable historical documents and records. If he had, the record would have been written much more full and complete than it was. On the subject of preparing papers of this character for the press a very eminent authority says:

"It would seem to be an editor's privilege (if, indeed, it is not his duty) to correct verbal and grammatical mistakes or inaccuracies, in bringing forth the letters of a person after death, written without any design of publication; but, in doing this, great caution should be observed that the writer's meaning and purpose are not changed or affected."—C. W. Butterfield, in Preface to *Washington-Irvine Letters*.

In preparing Governor Walker's Journals for the press I have made few corrections, by no means going to the limit allowed by the above conservative rule. I have:

1. Corrected any errors that haste or inattention caused

in orthography. These were rare. Governor Walker was a remarkably accurate writer in this respect.

2. Supplied punctuation marks where they were omitted, if, in so doing, Governor Walker's full meaning could be preserved.

3. In some instances separated an entry into paragraphs other than those made by the writer.

4. Occasionally supplied capital letters, but in no instance have I substituted small letters for superfluous capitals used by the writer. In Governor Walker's day more capital letters were found in MSS. than at the present time.

5. Enclosed in brackets words supplied to complete the evident meaning.

6. Written the names of the days of the week in full. Sometimes Governor Walker abbreviated them.

This is a special publication of the Nebraska State Historical Society.

At the request of H. W. Caldwell, Secretary, and Jay Amos Barrett, Assistant Secretary and Librarian, I attended the Annual Meeting of the State Historical Society, at Lincoln, January 12, 1898. I laid the papers published herein before the Society's meeting held in the evening of that day. The President of the Society, Hon. J. Sterling Morton, and all members who had opportunity to examine them recognized their historical value. The Society believed that in the interest of the history of the State the papers should be published. A committee was appointed to arrange for their publication. The committee is as follows:

Ex-Governor Robert W. Furnas, Vice-President of the Society.

Prof. H. W. Caldwell, Secretary.

Mr. Jay Amos Barrett, Assistant Secretary and Librarian.

Hon. C. H. Gere, Treasurer.

Hon. A. J. Sawyer.

An agreement to publish the papers was reached. The committee have stood ready, willing, and anxious at all times to do anything possible to help me make the work all that it should be, and I have availed myself freely of their assistance. For their generous aid, their kindness and courtesy, I here tender my grateful acknowledgment.

It is fitting, too, that I mention the labor performed and the attention bestowed upon this work by my wife. She encouraged me to persevere in the collection of the material for this volume. She also, with painstaking care, deciphered many a page of difficult manuscript and prepared it for the press.

WILLIAM E. CONNELLEY.

BEATRICE, NEBRASKA, May 7, 1898.

THE WYANDOTS.

The Wyandots¹ belong to the Iroquoian Family of North American Indians. They are the descendants of the Tionnontates or Tobacco Nation of the Huron Confederacy. Their legends and folk-lore indicate that they are of extreme Northern origin as a tribe, and their history confirms this. The Hurons were visited by the Jesuits early in the seventeenth century. They lived then between Lake Simcoe and the Georgian Bay of Lake Huron, in what is now the province of Ontario, Canada. The Tionnontates lived a little more to the south and east, in the Blue Mountains, about the southern shores of the Bay of Nottawassaga. They were called Petuns, or the Tobacco Nation, by the French, because they cultivated tobacco in sufficient amount to form a considerable commerce in its barter and exchange with other tribes.

In 1649 the Iroquois destroyed the Huron Confederacy. Of all the Huron Nations, the Tionnontates alone retained a tribal organization after this catastrophe. The fragments of the broken tribes fled northward along the Great Lakes, and were for years wanderers in those dreary wastes. As they increased in strength and became blended into a single tribe or people with the name Wyandot, they gathered about Mackinaw, and from thence began slowly to descend the Great Lakes, and stopped at Detroit. Here they were Pontiac's best and bravest warriors. In the wars between the

¹ Read Parkman's "The Jesuits in North America," for the early history of the Wyandots and the Hurons.

British and Americans they were on the side of the English until the war of 1812, when about half the tribe sided with the Americans. At the close of the war that portion of the tribe that had adhered to Great Britain settled permanently in Canada, and those who had espoused the cause of the United States remained about the western end of Lake Erie, in what is now Ohio and Michigan. Their Ohio lands were in what is now Wyandot County. Here Methodism was introduced among them and a Mission established.¹ On March 17, 1842, they ceded their Ohio lands to the United States.² They were the last of the tribes to relinquish their lands in Ohio.

In July, 1843, the Wyandots followed in the steps of the other tribes and moved beyond the Mississippi.³ Here in the "Indian Territory" they purchased the land in the fork of the Missouri and Kansas Rivers from the Delawares.⁴ They brought with them from Ohio a well organized Meth-

¹ John Stewart arrived in the Wyandot country in November, 1816. He was a Methodist, but had not been authorized by his Church to preach. He preached, however, to the Wyandots with success through the winter of 1816-17. He went to Marietta, Ohio, in the following spring but returned, later. On August 7, 1819, Rev. J. B. Finley was appointed to an oversight of the work begun by Stewart, and the Mission was taken in charge by the Ohio Conference.

Read Finley's "History of the Wyandot Mission" (Cincinnati, 1840); and "History of American Missions" (Worcester, 1840), 540.

² Revision of Indian Treaties, 1017.

³ "The Wyandots left for the far West in July, 1843, and numbered at that time about 700 souls."—Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio (Cincinnati, 1847), 549.

⁴ Among the many authorities confirming this, see "Laws of the United States of a Local or Temporary Character" (Washington, 1884), 849. The agreement between the Delawares and Wyandots is there set out. The Delawares donated to the Wyandots three sections of land and sold them thirty-six sections. For this land the Wyandots paid the Delawares \$46,080.00. This agreement was sanctioned by Congress, July 25, 1848. The Wyandots had made a treaty with the Shawnees while yet in Ohio whereby they were to have a strip of land adjoining the State of Missouri running south from the mouth of the Kansas River in the Shawnee Reserve, but the Shawnees finally repudiated this treaty. The Wyandots complained that when the Shawnees and Delawares were homeless they had "spread a deer skin for them to sit down upon" and given them each a large tract of land—to the two tribes the greater portion of Ohio, in fact; and now that the Wyandots were without a home, the Shawnees would not even sell them one, and the Delawares exacted from them more than the true value of the land sold. I have the copy of the treaty retained by the Shawnees, but it is unsigned. It was given me by Charles Blue-Jacket, Head Chief of the Shawnees.

odist Church, a Free Mason's Lodge, a civil government, and a code of written laws which provided for an elective Council of Chiefs, the punishment of crime and the maintenance of social and public order.

In 1855 the Wyandots accepted the allotment of their lands in severalty, and dissolved their tribal relations.¹ A part of the tribe was dissatisfied with this action, and resumed their tribal relations.² They purchased a tract of land in the Indian Territory from the "Cowskin Senacas," and there re-established their own government.³ Those living on this reservation number about 300. As a tribe they are poor, but many individuals are quite well to do. They are intelligent and industrious and are all self-supporting. The Government maintains a good school for them and it is well attended.

The Wyandots were always brave and humane warriors.⁴ They adopted persons captured in war;⁵ no instance is known of their burning and torturing a prisoner. The Wyandot tribe stood at the head of the Confederacy of the Northwestern tribes formed to oppose the settlement by white people of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River. The tribes composing this Confederacy were all removed

¹ Revision of Indian Treaties, 1020.

² *Id.*, 844.

³ *Id.*, 839.

⁴ Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio (Cincinnati, 1847), 549: "The Wyandots were the bravest of Indian tribes, and had among their chiefs some men of high moral character. With all other tribes but the Wyandots, flight in battle, when meeting with unexpected resistance or obstacle, brought with it no disgrace. . . . With them, it was otherwise. Their youth were taught to consider anything that had the appearance of an acknowledgement of the superiority of the enemy as disgraceful. In the battle of the Miami Rapids, of thirteen chiefs of that tribe who were present, one only survived, and he badly wounded. Some time before this action, Gen. Wayne sent for Capt. Wells, and requested him to go to Sandusky and take a prisoner, for the purpose of obtaining information. Wells—who had been bred with the Indians, and was perfectly acquainted with their character—answered that he could take a prisoner, but not from Sandusky, because Wyandots would not be taken alive."

⁵ The Walker, Hicks, Brown, Zane, Armstrong, Driver, Mudeater, and other Wyandot families were all founded by captives who were adopted into the tribe.

west of the Mississippi River. In October, 1848, a great Congress of these tribes was held near Fort Leavenworth. The ancient Council-fire was re-kindled and the Wyandot tribe confirmed in the honorable position so long held by it.¹

¹ Governor Walker's Journal, Oct., 1848.

THE WALKER FAMILY.

WILLIAM WALKER, SENIOR.

"The subject of this brief sketch was born in 1770, in or near Green Brier, some of his relatives say, Rockbridge County, Va. He was captured by a war party of the Delawares in the early part of the summer of 1781, being then eleven years of age. There was in the neighborhood a small stockade or temporary fort, to which the inhabitants fled for safety whenever an alarm was raised. The settlers, at the time this attack was made, were entirely off their guard; nothing calculated to excite their alarm had occurred for a long time, and all, old and young, male and female, were busily engaged in their fields. Young Walker and (I think) his Uncle were ploughing corn, the former riding the horse and the other holding the plough. When coming out at the ends of the rows and in the act of *turning* they were fired upon from behind the fence, wounding the man in both arms. The lad sprang from the horse and both fled towards the fort. He was captured before getting out of the field and the wounded man overtaken and killed within a few yards of the Fort. No attack was made upon the Fort, tho' there were only a few women and children in it. The invading party commenced a rapid retreat and after traveling four or five miles halted in a thick wood, from which a reconnoitering party returned to the invaded district. In the afternoon the party returned to the place of rendezvous laden with plunder and accompanied by another party of Delawares which the prisoner had not seen before, and to their mutual astonishment Aunt and nephew here met. Mrs. Cowan was captured in another part of the neighborhood by this second party. This was a distinct party, tho' they moved and travelled together. These two were the only prisoners they took.

"Then commenced the return march, which was attended with much fatigue and suffering, and to add to their distress, notwithstanding the country abounded with game, yet the warriors were singularly unfor-

tunate in their *bye hunts*. They travelled several days on a very small allowance of dried meat, still urging their way as fast as they could consistently with the power of endurance of the prisoners; still fearing a pursuit and rescue. To their great joy the warriors killed a fat Buffalo just as they were camping.

"During their march to the Ohio River he availed himself of the opportunity of breaking to his aunt his intended attempt at an escape; but she promptly interposed her objections to so rash an act, which could not be otherwise than a failure, and which would, in all probability, bring upon them fatal consequences; pointing out to him the impossibility of successfully eluding pursuit and recapture, and the certainty of his perishing from hunger, even if he eluded recapture. Crossing the Ohio all hope of a rescue died within them. They ejaculated a long farewell to home, family, and dear friends; their hearts sickened and sank within them; but their cup of anguish was not yet full, for here the two parties separated. The Aunt and nephew bade adieu to each other. It was the last sad adieu—they never met again.

"The party having the young captive proceeded direct to the Indian settlements on the Sciota, where, resting a few days, proceeded to their villages on the Whetstone, now Delaware, Ohio, where he underwent the discipline of *running the gauntlet*; out of which, as he frequently stated, he came with very little bodily injury. He was then adopted into, as he said, 'a very good family and treated with kindness.' The clan to which he belonged seemed more inclined to the chase and other peaceful pursuits than 'following the war path.' How long he remained with his adopted relatives I am unable to determine,—four or five years, at least. While his party attended a council at Detroit, the subject under consideration being the treaty concluded at Fort McIntosh the winter before, these Delawares there met with a large body of Wyandotts, among which was an adopted white man named Adam Brown, who, when a man grown, had been captured by the Wyandotts in Dunmore's war in Greenbrier County, adopted and was married, was influential and respected by the tribe. The youth attracted his attention and a conversation in English ensued, the latter not having entirely forgotten his native language. Brown, finding out where he was from, and knowing his family, determined upon ransoming him. Negotiations for this purpose were opened, but here

an almost insurmountable obstacle presented itself. It was contrary to Indian customs and usages to sell an adopted person on account of the reputed ties of relationship. This, with the unwillingness of the family into which he was adopted to part with him, rendered the project a hopeless one. The influence of the Wyandott Chiefs and that of the Military Commandant were invoked. An official speech to be delivered to the Delawares by Skan-ho-nint (One bark canoe), was agreed upon. If this proved unavailing, the attempt was to be abandoned as fruitless. The points taken may be thus briefly stated: 'We Wyandotts are your uncles and you Delawares are our nephews. This you admit. Where, then, would be the violation of our law and custom if, all parties being agreed, an adopted nephew should choose to reside in the family of his uncle? This would be only an interchange of those social amenities which are proper among relations; there would be no purchase in the case; your uncle would be loath, indeed, to insult his nephews by an offer to purchase their adopted son. Our father, the Commander, who joins with us, promises, as an earnest of his good will towards his Delaware children for their compliance with his and your uncle's wishes, to *make your hearts glad* (with Rum) and bestow upon you, and especially upon the immediate family of the youth, valuable presents out of the King's Store house, such as Blankets, Cloths, guns, ammunition, &c.' (Here the Com'dt confirmed the promise.) After the delivery of the speech, time for deliberation was asked for and granted. Whether the argument was deemed conclusive against the objections, or the promised presents acted as a *salve* to their consciences, it is sufficient to state that the Delawares acceded to the proposition and next day the transfer was duly made. The subject of these negotiations knew but little about the details of these doings beyond the transfer, and being content to remain with his newly formed acquaintances, gave himself but little concern about them."¹

THE RANKIN FAMILY.

James Rankin was born in Tyrone, Ireland. At an early age he engaged in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company,

¹ This sketch is taken from Governor Walker's account of his father, in the William Walker Correspondence in the Draper Manuscript Collection in the Library of the Wisconsin State Historical Society.

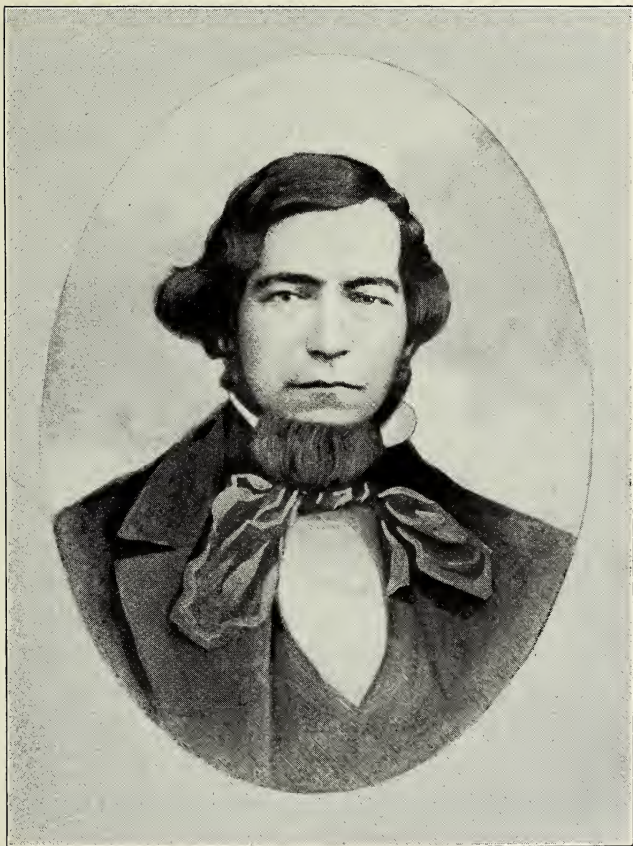
and was for many years high in position with that great corporation. He had charge of many important branches of their extensive business in the fur trade of the North. Having mastered the intricate details of the Indian trade, and acquired a sufficient sum to enable him to do so, he embarked in the business for himself. He was very successful in this venture, and in the course of time accumulated a large fortune. For many years Detroit was the point from which he directed his business.¹

THE MONTOUR FAMILY.

"About the year 1667 a French gentleman named Montour settled in Canada. By a Huron Indian woman he had three children—one son and two daughters. The son, Montour, lived with the Indians, and was wounded in the French service, in a fight with some Mohawks, near Fort La Motte, on Lake Champlain, in 1694. He deserted from the French, and lived with 'the farr Indians'—the Twightwees (Miamis) and Diondadies (Petuns or Wyandots). By his assistance Lord Cornbury prevailed on some of these tribes to visit and trade with the people of Albany in 1708. For his endeavors to alienate the 'upper nations' from the French, he was killed in 1709 by the troops under Lieutenant le Sieur de Joncaire, by orders of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, who wrote that he would have had him hanged, had it been possible to capture him alive.

"Of the two daughters of the Frenchman Montour, one became conspicuously known as Madame Montour. She was born in Canada about the year 1684, captured by some warriors of the Five Nations when she was but ten years old, taken to their country and brought up by them. It is probable that she lived with the Oneidas, as, on arriving at maturity, she was married to Carondawana, or the "Big Tree," otherwise Robert Hunter, a famous war-chief of that nation.

¹ This is the best account I have been able to make up from documents in possession of Mrs. Lillian Walker Hale of Kansas City, Kansas, and some letters written to the "Wyandotte Gazette" in 1870. I feel that more should be said, but I have been unable, so far, to obtain the information necessary to make a more detailed statement. Mr. Rankin was a remarkable man in many respects, and was held in high esteem by the Wyandots.



JOEL WALKER.

He was killed in the wars between the Iroquois and Catawbas, in the Carolinas, about the year 1729."

So great became the influence of Madame Montour with the Indian tribes, and so proficient was she in their various languages, that she was for many years in the pay of the Colony of New York, and her influence was ardently sought by the Government of Canada. No important Council between the colonies and the Indian tribes was held without her being present. She lived at various places in the West, from the country of the Iroquois to that of the Miamis at the western extremity of Lake Erie. She had a sister, married to a Miami. Count Zinzendorf was the Bishop and head of the Moravian Church. In the fall of 1742 he visited the village of Madame Montour. "He preached there in French to large gatherings." It is said that she was deeply affected when she saw Zinzendorf and learned the object of his visit. "She had entirely forgotten the truths of the Gospel, and, in common with the French Indians, believed the story originated with the Jesuits, that the Saviour's birth-place was in France, and His crucifiers Englishmen."

Many strange things are told of this remarkable woman. It was persistently maintained that she was the daughter of a former governor of Canada. There was never any governor of Canada named Montour, and her ancestry is well established. It is not certainly known how many children she had. We have definite accounts of three. Her daughter was known as "French Margaret." It is reasonably certain that she had another daughter, who was "one of the converts of the Moravian Mission, at New Salem, Ohio, * * * and that she was a living polyglot of the tongues of the West, speaking English, French and six Indian languages." Her two sons were Andrew, alias Henry, and Louis. Andrew Montour's work is a part of the history of the exploration and settlement of the Ohio Valley and the Great West, and

so important and extensive were his services that no account of them can be attempted here.¹

I have been, as yet, unable to trace definitely the ancestry of Gov. William Walker to any particular descendant of the French gentleman, Montour. But that he is descended from this French gentleman there can scarcely be a question. This original Montour married a Huron woman, and his son lived with the "Diondadies" (Petuns or Wyandots). The Wyandots of history are the descendants of the Petuns, or "Tobacco Nation" of the Huron Confederacy. When the Wyandots lived in Wyandotte County, Kansas, there were still Montours belonging to and living with the tribe, and they were allotted their proportion of the land belonging to the Nation when the holdings were assigned in severalty. The name was erroneously written "Monture" by the allotting agent.

James Rankin married Mary Montour. She belonged to the Big Turtle Clan of the Wyandot tribe. They were married at Detroit. There is reason to believe that Mary Montour was the descendant of Catherine, a granddaughter of Madame Montour. This accords with the best information I have been able to obtain from the old people of the Wyandot tribe. By Indian law the child always belongs to the clan of the mother, and in the instance of so noted a name, it is more than probable that the name Montour was always retained by her children.

Mary Montour was born in 1756. After their marriage James Rankin became a Wyandot by adoption, and he spent most of his life from that time, with the Indians; but at the same time pushed forward his business of trader. He gave his children a good education, and for this purpose removed to Pennsylvania, in his last days, and there died.

¹ The foregoing account of the Montours is taken and compiled from "Christopher Gist's Journals," by William M. Darlington.

Mary Montour Rankin, like her ancestors, had great influence in the Councils of her people. Many interesting accounts and traditions of her hospitality and influence in the tribes about Detroit are remembered to this day by her descendants.

Of the children of James and Mary Montour Rankin I know of but two, James and Catherine. James came west with the Wyandots, and died in what is now Wyandotte County, Kansas. Catherine married William Walker, Sr.

Catherine Rankin was born June 4, 1771. I have not been able to determine the date of the marriage of William Walker and Catherine Rankin, but their first child was born October 14, 1789. Walker had lived with Adam Brown until his marriage. He took the side of the Americans in the war of 1812, and rendered valuable service to his country. Many of the Wyandots espoused the cause of Great Britain, and Walker was in constant danger of death. He was afterward Indian sub-agent for the Ohio tribes, and it was under his administration that Methodism was introduced into the Wyandot Nation. For an account of his valuable services in this work see the "History of American Missions; Worcester, 1840"; and Finley's "History of the Wyandot Mission." He died at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, January 22, 1824.¹ His wife died at the same place, in December, 1844.

WILLIAM WALKER.

William Walker was the son of William and Catherine (Rankin) Walker. He was born in what is now Wayne County, Michigan, March 5, 1800.² He belonged to the

¹ Manuscript letter from Governor Walker to his mother. Now in my possession.

² There are two dates given. In the old family Bible of William Walker, Sr., now owned by Mrs. Mary Haff, the date is put down as March 5, 1799. This date is used by Mr. Lane in his obituary notice of Governor Walker's death. Governor Walker always says when writing of the matter that he was born March 5, 1800. In his Jour-

Big Turtle Clan of the Wyandot tribe.¹ He had two Indian names. The first was Häh-shäh'-rēhs, meaning "the stream over full"; the second was Sēhs'-täh-rōh, meaning "bright," and is taken from the brightness of the turtle's eye as seen in clear water.²

As much of his life will develop in this work, little need be said here. He was given a good education at a Methodist school at Worthington, Ohio. Besides the English, he read and spoke Greek, Latin and French. He spoke the Wyandot, Delaware, Shawnee, Miami, and Pottawatomie Indian languages. He was Head Chief of the Wyandot tribe while it was yet in Ohio,³ and was Postmaster of the town of Upper Sandusky, Ohio.⁴ He was for a time a teacher in the Mission school there.⁵ He was twice married.⁶ His first marriage was to Miss Hannah Barrett, at Upper Sandusky; she was at the time a student in the Mission school. The date of this marriage is April 8, 1824. Of this marriage were born five children, two sons and three daughters. Hannah Walker died December 7, 1863.

April 6, 1865, he was married at Dudley, Hardin County, Ohio, to Mrs. Evelina J. Barrett. She was the widow of a

nals he mentions this date as his birthday. He was certainly correctly informed in the matter of the date of his birth. The entries in the family Bible of William Walker, Sr., have the appearance of having been made all at the same time. If they were it is possible that an error was made in recording the date of Governor Walker's birth.

¹ His mother belonged to the Big Turtle Clan. By Wyandot law the children belonged to the clan of the mother. Two persons belonging to the same clan are not permitted to marry.

² I have not been able to find any record left by Governor Walker in which he had written his Indian names. But that they are correctly written here a hundred Wyandots or more have assured me.

³ Governor Walker was a modest and retiring man. He left little of record that concerned himself, except as to his health. That he was Head Chief of the Wyandots in 1835-6 is established by Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio (Cincinnati, 1847), 445.

⁴ Manuscript letters of the late John Johnston, of Piqua, Ohio, for many years Indian Agent for the Ohio Indians. These letters are now in my possession.

⁵ History of the Wyandot Mission — Finley.

⁶ His family Bible so states. It is owned by his grandson, William McMullan, Kansas City, Kansas.

brother of his first wife. She died August 28, 1868. No children by this marriage.¹

After the death of his father, William Walker was the most influential man in the Wyandot Nation. Intellectually he was one of the greatest men of that tribe of Indians, a tribe acknowledged strong in Council.

He was an eloquent speaker, and as a forceful writer on political subjects he has been surpassed by few men. He wrote many valuable papers on passing events from the time of his removal West to the beginning of the war; these were published in the newspapers in Ohio and Missouri, and few of them can be found now. He wrote some excellent papers for literary publications.

He was an ardent Democrat, and a slave holder. He hated abolitionism and contended for the rights of slavery as he understood those rights, to the commencement of the war. But he was never in favor, so far as I have been able to learn, of secession. I have a speech which he delivered on the 4th of July, 1864, in which he says that the war was uncalled for and without any justification. He was loyal to his country. He was elected a member of the Lecompton Constitutional Convention, and was present and participated in the proceedings.²

Governor Walker was kind and gentle in his demeanor and bearing towards others. He was a lover of his home and was devoted to his family. He had the French love for company and conversation and all social enjoyments.

Of his selection as Provisional Governor of Nebraska Territory it is unnecessary to speak here. The facts are set forth in another part of this work.

¹ All these facts were taken from his family Bible, except the statement: "She was the widow of a brother of his first wife." This I ascertained, by inquiry, from his and her relatives.

² Wilder's Annals of Kansas, 127. He says so in his correspondence now in the Library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

The last years of life were sad and sorrowful ones for Governor Walker. He had lost both his wives and all his children by death. There is little doubt that he welcomed death as a friend. He was heart-broken by the loss of his family. He speaks of himself as being "stricken with grief," and says, "and now I stand like a blasted oak in a desert, its top shivered by a bolt hurled from the armory of Jove."

The poem "Oft in the Stilly Night" was a favorite one with all the Wyandots.¹ One of the last entries ever made in his journal is a quotation from this poem, and is as follows:

"Oft in the stilly night,
E'er slumber's chain has bound me,
Fond mem'ry brings the light
Of other days around me:

¹ The late Mrs. Lucy B. Armstrong's favorite stanza is as follows:

3. Yet when I look above
This mansion thus forsaken
To that where God in love
My friends so dear has taken,
My doubts are quelled,
My fears dispelled;
For faith's sweet pledge is given
That those so dear
Are hovering near
To welcome me to Heaven.

CHORUS.—Thus oft in the stilly night
E'er slumber's chain hath bound me
Religion pours her light
Of heavenly joys around me.

Below is the same stanza in the Wyandot language:

3. Yah-rohn-yah'-yeh eh-mah-tih
Noh-mah'-deh sah-yah-kah-quah,
Hah-tsah-yooh-hooh-tah-dih
Nohn-dih-yah yah-teh'-yeh-ah-hah.
Dooh shah-tooh-rah't tah-yah-rah-nyeh-ohs,
Dih-yah zhoooh-tih dah nyeh-ehn-tah-rih
Dah kah'-tooh ah't ah-roh-mah-nyeh-oh,
Nehn dih tah-kih-oh-yah-gyeh-ah'-tehs.

CHORUS.—Dooh-neh tah-wah'-rah-tah
Tooh-reh-zhah-ih mehn-tsah'-yeh
Yah-reh-weh-zhoooh-stih neh
Kweh-ah-yeh-ohs wah-tih ah-stih-eh-quahs.

The smiles and tears
 Of boyhood's years,
 The words of love then spoken,
 The eye that shone,
 Now dimmed and gone,
 The cheerful heart now broken.

When I remember all
 The friends so link'd together,
 I've seen around me fall
 Like leaves in wintry weather,
 I feel like one
 Who treads alone
 Some banquet-hall deserted,
 Whose lights are fled,
 Whose garlands dead,
 And all but he departed.
 Thus oft in the stilly night."

Again he says:

"It costs me a pang to break up housekeeping, having kept house for forty-five years with so many pleasing associations. . . .
 Whatever fortune may betide me in the future, I will say—

"Sweet vale of Wyandott, how calm could I rest
 In thy bosom of shade with the friends I love best.
 When the storms which we feel in this cold world shall cease,
 Our hearts like thy waters shall mingle in peace.'" ¹

The following is copied from the *Wyandott Herald*² of February 19, 1874:

OBITUARY.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM WALKER.

The distinguished gentleman whose name heads this article was for many years as well known in Kansas as any citizen in the State.

He was born at Gibraltar, Michigan, March 5th, 1799, and died at the residence of Mr. H. H. Smalley in Kansas City, Mo., on Friday, the 13th inst., having accomplished seventy-five years of useful and eventful life.

Governor Walker received a thorough education at Worthington, Ohio, under the immediate instruction of the venerable Bishop Chase.

¹ From his Journal.

² Hon. Vincent J. Lane established the *Herald* in 1872. He is still its editor and proprietor.

After acquiring his education, William Walker entered almost at once upon an active life in behalf of the North American Indians in general, and of the Wyandott Nation in particular, among whom he became leader and counselor, devoting the best years of his life to their interests.

As early as 1831 he visited the "Platte Purchase" as agent of the Wyandott Nation with a view to purchasing a new location for it. He was at the treaty of St. Marys and rendered efficient services to all contracting parties.

He was for some years the private Secretary and friend of Gen. Lewis Cass, his secretaryship beginning after the close of the war of 1812, and the friendship continuing until the death of the General.

In 1843 William Walker came to Kansas with his tribe, where he has remained ever since, except when he was called away on business or for his health which for some years has been feeble.

He acquired his title of Governor in 1853, when he was appointed Provisional Governor of Kansas Territory.

With him died more Indian archæological knowledge than has been preserved by any writer on the subject. Indian antiquity and history were his special study, and being an Indian himself, highly educated and with a natural taste in that direction, his success was not surprising.

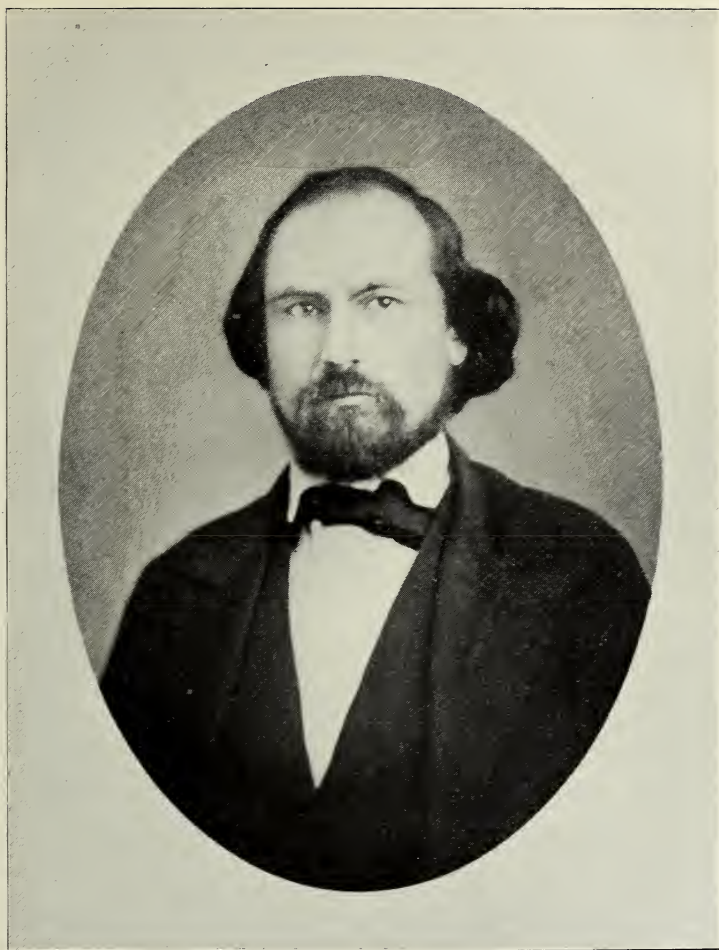
He furnished Schoolcraft with a large amount of information contained in his works on the Indians of North America, and also gave General Butterfield many incidents contained in his new work on Crawford's campaign against Sandusky.

Governor Walker wrote much himself for newspapers and periodicals but unfortunately has left none of the results of his deep research in a form to be used by the historian or antiquary.

He was buried on Saturday last in Oak Grove Cemetery, with Masonic honors, having been one of the Charter Members of Wyandott Lodge No. 3, and for many years an honorary member thereof.

So has passed away one of our oldest and most valued citizens.

He who first bore the title of Governor of that territory embraced within the present bounds of Kansas and Nebraska sleeps upon the banks of the Missouri River, at the mouth of the Kansas. To the shame of both States, be it said, no monument of any kind marks his last resting place.



RUSSELL GARRETT.

THE
PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT
OF
NEBRASKA TERRITORY.

I.

I commenced the collection of facts concerning this period of the history of Kansas and Nebraska more than fourteen years ago. Some of the persons from whom I obtained statements and with whom I consulted are named here: H. M. Northrup, Nicholas McAlpine (son-in-law of Joel Walker), Lucy B. Armstrong, R. W. Clark, H. T. Harris, H. C. Long, Matthias Splitlog, Michael Hummer, Mrs. Lillian Walker Hale, William McMullan, Hon. Frank H. Betton,¹ Sanford Haff, Mrs. Mary Haff, E. F. Heisler, Hon. W. J. Buchan, S. S. Sharp, M. B. Newman, Stephen Perkins, W. H. H. Grinter, Hiram Malott, John G. Pratt, John C. Grinter, Geo. U. S.

¹ Frank Holyoke Betton was born in Derry, Rockingham County, New Hampshire, August 1, 1835. He came to Kansas in 1856. He has been an active man, connected with various enterprises, the principal of which are the milling, lumber, and insurance business. He has been successful and has an elegant and commodious home at the little town of Pomeroy in Wyandotte County. He was appointed Commissioner of Labor for Kansas, which office he held many years, and was a faithful and capable official. He was married to Susanah Mudeater, daughter of Matthew Mudeater, March 8, 1860. Of this marriage were born: 1. Silas, born January, 1861, died September 13, 1873; 2. Florence, born September 8, 1862; 3. Frank Holyoke, Jr., born November 17, 1865; 4. Cora Estelle, born August 18, 1868; 5. Matthew Thornton, born July 12, 1870; 6. Susannah W. J., born December 5, 1871; 7. Ernest L., born July 13, 1881. All born in Wyandotte County, Kansas.

Hovey, R. M. Gray, Ebenezer Zane, Rezin Wilcoxon, and V. J. Lane, Editor of the Wyandott *Herald*, and for many years the personal and political friend of Governor Walker. George W. Martin, Editor of the Kansas City, Kansas, *Gazette*, furnished me valuable aid. In addition to these, and many others of Wyandotte County, Kansas, I have consulted Mrs. Sarah Dagnett, Alfred Mudeater, Mrs. Julia Mudeater, Eldredge H. Brown, Silas Armstrong, Smith Nichols, Mrs. W. H. Stannard, Henry Hicks, B. F. Johnson, Mrs. Mary Walker, Mrs. Margaret Pipe, John W. Gray-Eyes, Mrs. Carrie Lofland, James Long, Benj. Mudeater, Allen Johnson, Allen Johnson, Jr., Head Chief of the Wyandots, John Barnett, George Wright, David DeShane, Mrs. Jackson (supposed to be more than 100 years old), Charles Blue-Jacket,¹ and many other intelligent and reliable Wyandots and Shawnees in the Indian Territory.

¹ Charles Blue-Jacket was the son of a Shawnee Chief of the same name. He was born in what is now the State of Michigan, on the banks of the River Huron, in 1816. His grandfather was Weh-yah-pih-ehr-sehn-wah' the famous Shawnee Chief who was associated with Mih'-shih-kihn'-ah-kwah, or Little Turtle, the Chief of the Miamis, in the battle in which General Harmer was defeated by the Northwestern Confederacy of Indians, in 1790. In the battle in which Wayne defeated the Confederacy, Weh-yah-pih-ehr-sehn-wah', or Blue-Jacket, or Captain Blue-Jacket, as he was called, commanded the allied Indian forces. The ancestors of the Blue-Jackets were war chiefs, but never village or civil chiefs until after the removal of the tribe to the West.

When Charles Blue-Jacket was a child his parents moved to the Piqua Plains in Ohio. In 1832 they removed to that part of the Shawnee Reservation in the West now in Wyandotte County, Kansas. Here Charles Blue-Jacket lived with his tribe. He moved to the Indian Territory in 1871. His home was at the town of Blue-Jacket, named for him by the M., K. & T. Railroad Co. He was a Chief always after coming to Kansas. He was an honest man and much loved by the Shawnees, and greatly respected by the white people. He died in December, 1897, at his home, from the effects of a cold contracted while searching for the Shawnee Prophet's grave in Wyandotte County, Kansas, the previous summer. Mr. Blue-Jacket was well acquainted with Lah-uh'-leh-wah'-sih-kah', called after he became the Prophet, Tehn-skwah'-tah-wah, and sometimes Ehl-skwah'-tah-wah, and was present at his burial in 1836 in Shawnee Township, Wyandotte County, Kansas. Mr. Blue-Jacket was a Free Mason. He was married three times, and twenty-three children were born to him. His youngest child was born in 1889.

Some of the statements were contradictory, and few of them agreed exactly in all details; but in all material matters there was substantial agreement. I have not relied entirely upon oral evidence in any case where there was a record. C. W. Butterfield, the well known author, rendered me valuable assistance.

The territory embraced in Nebraska as bounded in the bills introduced in Congress (which uniformly failed of passage), was obtained from France in the purchase from that country of the province of Louisiana. The treaty between France and the United States by which Louisiana was ceded to the latter was signed in Paris on the 30th day of April, 1803.¹

France delivered possession of Louisiana to the United States on the 20th day of December, 1803, at the City of New Orleans. Mr. Claiborne, Governor of the Territory of Mississippi, represented the American Government upon this occasion, and M. Laussat represented the Government of France.²

But the authority of the United States Government in, and the exercise of power over that part of the "Louisiana Purchase" of which the original Nebraska was a part, dates from March 10th, 1804, when Amos Stoddard assumed the duties of Governor of Upper Louisiana.³

On March 26th, 1804, Congress divided the territory acquired by the purchase of Louisiana into two parts. One of these was called the Territory of Orleans, and comprised that part of the country south of the north line of the present State of Louisiana. The other contained all the remainder

¹ Andreas's History of Nebraska, 46.

² Annals of the West (1850), 534.

³ Andreas's History of Nebraska, 46.

of the vast province, and was named the District of Louisiana. This District was attached to the Territory of Indiana for the purposes of government.¹

On March 3d, 1805, Congress changed the name of the "District of Louisiana" to that of the "Territory of Louisiana," and detached it from the Territory of Indiana. It was erected into a Territory of the "second class," and James Wilkinson was appointed its Governor by President Jefferson.²

On June 4th, 1812, Congress changed the name of the "Territory of Louisiana" to that of the "Territory of Missouri," and provided a system of government for the new Territory. On January 19th, 1816, the Legislature made the common law of England the law of the Territory.³

The Territory of Arkansas had been created from territory taken from the Territory of Missouri, in 1819. Missouri was admitted as a State in 1820-21. The "Platte Purchase" was added to Missouri by the adroit statesmanship of Colonel Benton, in 1836. The territory comprising the States of Arkansas and Missouri as now constituted was taken from the Territory of Missouri. All that area of Missouri Territory, except that portion taken for the States of Arkansas and Missouri, remained *de facto* as well as *de jure* Missouri Territory. It had no capital — no seat of government, it had very few white residents. It extended north to British America, and on the west it was bounded by the extreme limits of the "Louisiana Purchase."

On June 30th, 1834, the old Territory of Missouri was divided. For the purposes of the Act, it was declared to be "Indian Country"—what it had always been, in fact, and

¹ Andreas's History of Nebraska, 46.

² Andreas's History of Nebraska, 46. St. Louis was made the capital. Frederick Bates was appointed Secretary. Return J. Meigs and John B. C. Lucas were appointed Judges. The Governor and Judges constituted the Legislature.

³ Andreas's History of Nebraska, 46.

came to be called and spoken of as the "Indian Territory." The criminal laws of the United States were declared to be in force in any part of it within the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States.¹ The crimes committed by one Indian against the person or property of another Indian were excepted. The South division, including all that part of the "Indian Country" west of the Mississippi River that is bounded north by the line of lands assigned to the Osages produced east to the State of Missouri, west by the Mexican possessions, south by the Red River, and east by the west line of the State of Arkansas, was annexed to the State of Arkansas. The jurisdiction of the United States District Court of Missouri was extended over the remainder of the "Territory of Missouri."² The "Annual Register of Indian Affairs" for the year 1835 defined the boundaries of the "Indian Territory" as follows: "Beginning on Red River, east of the Mexican boundary and as far west of Arkansas Territory as the country is habitable, thence down Red River eastwardly to Arkansas Territory; thence northwardly along the line of the Arkansas Territory to the State of Missouri, thence up Missouri River to Pimcah River; thence westwardly as far as the country is habitable, and thence southwardly to the beginning."³

In 1834 a considerable portion of the Territory of Missouri, on the North, was set off to the Territory of Michigan. What remained was still the Territory of Missouri, and so remained until the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of May 30, 1854. Then the Territory of Missouri was extinguished — wiped out — but *not till then*. Whether in its

¹ The term "Exclusive jurisdiction of the United States" was probably used on account of the contention over the line or boundary between Louisiana and Texas, then a part of Mexico. A neutral ground between the two countries had been agreed upon — a beautiful arrangement for the pirates and free-booters then in the Gulf of Mexico in great numbers.

² Annals of the West (1850), 542.

³ History of American Missions (Worcester, 1840), 540.

“pristine glory,” or shorn of much of its extent, it had, through all this time (1820-1854), a government — one in fact and one in law; but it was an exceedingly limited one in its powers. It came very near being no government at all. Its functions were all condensed into the dicta of the United States District Court of Missouri. There was no ordinary Territorial Government for what was then the “Indian Country” during all these years, except what was decreed by that Court; for what was left of Missouri Territory was “attached” by the act of Congress of 1834 to that tribunal “to be looked after.”

As much as ten years before the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill the want of a more effective government for the “Indian Territory” was recognized. In 1844, the Secretary of War recommended the organization of a Territorial Government; and, acting on this recommendation, Mr. Douglas, of the House Committee on Territories, introduced a bill to establish the Territory of Nebraska, on the 17th of December, 1844. This bill was referred to the Committee on Territories; an amendatory bill was reported on January 7, 1845, which was referred to the Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union, and no further action was had thereon.

The next effort for the organization of Nebraska Territory was made in 1848. Mr. Douglas had, in the meantime, been elected to the Senate. Here he introduced a bill, which, on the 24th of April, 1848, was made the order of the day for Monday, the 24th of the same month, but nothing further was done with the bill.

On December 4th, 1848, Mr. Douglas gave notice that he would introduce another Nebraska bill. This bill was introduced and was referred to the Committee on Territories, December 20, 1848, and no further action was had thereon.¹

¹ See the Statement of Abelard Guthrie, in this work, for an account of these bills.

This was the last effort of Congress to organize the Territory of Nebraska prior to the movement of the people of the Territory themselves for the establishment of a Territorial Government.

In the years 1849 and 1850 thousands of people passed through "Nebraska Territory," as the country was beginning to be called, on their way to California. The emigrant tribes of Indians residing in the Territory had been removed from the country further east where they had lived near and had much intercourse with white people, and they possessed and enjoyed many of the institutions of civilization. These tribes were located on the borders of Missouri, with the inhabitants of which State they traded and bartered many commodities. The leading tribes were the Wyandots, the Delawares, the Shawnees, the Miamis and Kickapoos. In all these tribes were men of education and influence. They comprehended their condition and could plainly discern the tendencies of the times. It was obvious to them that they were occupying the country through which the great highway to the Pacific Ocean must be built in the near future. Along this line of road must be settlers, and these settlers must live on land then belonging to the Indians. The Indian had had enough experience to know that the word "forever" written in his title to the soil was intended to mean "until the white man wants it." The pressure along the western line of Missouri was increasing, and white men looked across an arbitrary line and saw the Indian country "and behold it was very good," and they wanted it; and the Indian knew they wanted it. It was plain to the intelligent Indians that the tribes would soon be compelled to move. If they must sell their lands, they wanted as good a price as could be obtained. To enhance the value of their lands it was necessary that white men should have liberty to settle in their vicinity in numbers, and for the purpose of allowing them to do so

the Indian tribes themselves moved for the organization of Nebraska Territory. Foremost in the movement was the Wyandot Nation, which occupied the land between the Kansas and Missouri Rivers, at the mouth of the Kansas. The emigrant tribes, adhering to their ancient customs, looked to the Wyandots to take the initiative. The Wyandots were the keepers of the Council fire of the Northwestern Confederacy of Indian tribes which opposed so long and so successfully the settlement of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River. The great Council fire had been re-kindled in the West, at a Congress of the tribes held near Fort Leavenworth in October, 1848, and the position of the Wyandot Nation, as the head of the Confederacy, confirmed and renewed. It was necessary that any movement among the Indians that would affect the interests of the tribes of the ancient Confederacy should originate with the Wyandot Nation, if it expected to receive consideration.

During the first session of the Thirty-second Congress in the winter of 1851-2 and the spring of 1852 these people petitioned Congress to establish a Territorial Government in the Territory of Nebraska. Little or no attention being given their petitions, they concluded to adopt a more effective course—one which Congress could not so easily ignore. They decided to elect a delegate to the Thirty-second Congress and send him to attend the last session of that body, to be held in the winter of 1852-3. Those most active in this course were, William Walker, Matthew R. Walker,¹

¹ Matthew R. Walker was a brother of Governor Walker. He was born June 17, 1810. He belonged to the Big Turtle Clan. His Indian name was Rah'-hahn-tah'-sch. It means "twisting the forest," i. e., as the wind twists the forest, and it refers to the willows and reeds along the streams as they are swayed by the breeze. He was one of the leading business men of the Wyandot Nation. Before the Wyandots removed from their home at Upper Sandusky he made a trip from Ohio to the Senecas, and to the Delawares and Shawnees, for the purpose of selecting a home in the West for his tribe. This was in 1841. Governor Walker had visited the country about the mouth of the Kansas River in 1833. On the reports of these and some others of the tribe, the Wyandots came to what is now Wyandotte County, Kansas, when they removed West. Matthew R. Walker lived on the banks of the Missouri where the mansion of George

Joel Walker,¹ Isaiah Walker, Abelard Guthrie, Francis A. Hicks, George I. Clark, Charles B. Garrett, Russell Garrett, Joel W. Garrett, Matthew Mudeater, Silas Armstrong and John W. Gray-Eyes.

Fowler now stands, in Kansas City, Kansas. He married Lydia B. Ladd. One of their daughters is Mrs. Lillian Walker Hale, the well known writer.

The first communication of a Masonic Lodge in what is now Kansas, was held in Matthew R. Walker's home, and Mrs. Walker acted as Tyler, there not being enough Masons present to fill all the official places. The Masons met informally at his house up to July, 1854, when a warrant was obtained from the Grand Lodge of Missouri authorizing J. M. Chivington, W. M., M. R. Walker, S. W., and Cyrus Garrett, J. W. to meet and work U. D. V. J. Lane says the first meeting under this dispensation was held August 11th, A. L. 5854, and a Lodge of Masons U. D. was duly organized. The officers of the Lodge were installed by Bro. Piper, D. G. M. of Missouri.

In May, A. L. 5855, a charter was granted from the G. L. of Missouri to M. R. Walker, W. M., Russell Garrett, S. W., and Cyrus Garrett, J. W., authorizing them to meet and work, under the name of Kansas Lodge No. 153, A. F. & A. M. The first meeting under this charter was held July 27, A. L. 5855. On the 27th of December, A. L. 5855, a meeting of the Lodges of the Territory of Kansas was held in Leavenworth City, at which Wyandotte, Smithton, and Leavenworth Lodges were represented. At this meeting the G. L. of Kansas was organized. Matthew R. Walker was an officer of the Grand Lodge. In the by-laws of Wyandotte Lodge No. 3, A. F. & A. M., of Kansas City, Kansas (the oldest Lodge in the State), is the following:

Wyandotte Lodge, No. 3.

In Memoriam.

Matthew R. Walker, P. M. & P. S. G. W.,

Oct. 15th, 1860.

Matthew R. Walker was Probate Judge of Leavenworth County, Kansas, when it included what is now Wyandotte County. He is buried in the old Huron Place Cemetery in Kansas City, Kansas. On the monument over his grave is the following inscription:

M. R. Walker

Born

Jan 17 1810

Died

Oct 14 1860

¹ Joel Walker was also a brother of Governor Walker. He was born in Canada West. The three dates of his birth that I have found are all different. In the family Bible of his father the date is July 17, 1813. In Governor Walker's Journal the date is February 18, 1813. On his monument it is February 17, 1813. His Indian name was Wäh'-wahs (Way-wahs) and means "lost turtle" or "turtle in a lost place" and was given to commemorate his birth which was on this wise: His mother, Catherine Walker, like all her maternal ancestors, was familiar with the languages of many of the tribes of the Northwest, and she had great influence with them. Her presence was required at many of the Councils of consequence. At one time she was sent for to act as interpreter in an important meeting that would determine some question for some tribe, relating to the war of 1812. Her period of maternity was fulfilled, or nearly so, and she desired not to go. But as the Council could not proceed without her the warriors procured a wagon and team and having bundled her into this rough conveyance started away in the darkness, over rough roads. In the black darkness of the cloudy night the horses left the

On the 12th day of October, 1852, the election for a Delegate to Congress was held in the Council House of the Wyandot Nation. The entry in Governor Walker's Journal on that date says: "Attended the election for Delegate for Congress from Nebraska Territory. A. Guthrie received the entire vote polled."

The officers of this election were: *Judges*, George I. Clark, Samuel Priestley and Matthew R. Walker; *Clerks*, William Walker and Benjamin N. C. Anderson. The names of the persons who voted at the election are as follows: Charles B. Garrett, Isaac Baker, Jose Antonio Pieto, Henry C. Norton, Abelard Guthrie, Henry C. Long, Cyrus Garrett, Francis Cotter, Edward B. Hand, Francis A. Hicks, Russell Garrett, Samuel Rankin, Nicholas Cotter, Joel W. Garrett, Isaac Long, Thomas Coon-Hawk, Jacob Charloe, Wm. Walker, George I. Clark, Benjamin N. C. Anderson, Matthew R. Walker, Samuel Priestley, Henry Garrett, Wm. Gibson, Presley Muir, Joel Walker, Isaac Brown, Jas. Long, Jno.

way and they were soon driving aimlessly about through the dark woods. The result was as she had feared. She was seized with parturient pains and a son was born to her while she was lost in the forest. His name was to keep this event in memory.

When Wyandott City (now Kansas City, Kansas) was laid out a street was named Wawas, for Joel Walker. Strangers called it "Wäh'-wähs" street, but the proper pronunciation is "Wa'-wähs" (Way'-wähs). Some years ago a City Council, wholly ignorant of the City's history and the history of its founders, changed the name of the street to "Freeman Avenue," because one Freeman built a fine residence on it. The old name should be restored.

Joel Walker was married to Mary Ann Ladd (born July 1, 1819, died January 8, 1886) in Franklin County, Ohio, May 19, 1844. Their children were: 1. Florence, born March 20, 1845, died Oct. 6, 1845; 2. Maria W., born June 17, 1847, died Feb'y 26, 1891; 3. Justin, born April 6, 1849; 4. Ida E., born Feb'y 22, 1851, died Feb'y 16, 1866; 5. Everett, born August 27, 1853, died March 30, 1888. Only Maria W. was married; she was married to Nicholas McAlpine (born in County Down, Ireland, April 5, 1835) June 21, 1866. Their children are: 1. Robert L., born May 8, 1867; 2. Jessie S., born July 19, 1874; 3. Mary A., born January 24, 1882; 4. John W., born June 30, 1887.

On the monument over his grave in the old Huron Place Cemetery is the following:

In
Memoriam
Joel Walker
Born in Canada West
Feb 17 1813
Died in Wyandott Kansas
Sept 8 1857.

Lynch,¹ William Trowbridge, John W. Ladd,² Daniel McNeal,³ Edward Fifer, Peter D. Clark and Henry W. Porter.⁴

The purpose to hold an election to elect a Delegate to Congress from Nebraska Territory met with much opposition from the representatives of the Government of the United States then in the "Indian Territory." Governor Walker says that even the discussion of the settlement of the country "attracted the attention of the Interior Department and drew forth official intimation that the government could not allow any portion of that Territory to be occupied by white people; and that the President was authorized to employ, if necessary, the military force of the United States in removing from the Indian Country all persons found there contrary to law." Mr. Guthrie says that "one Colonel Fauntleroy, Commanding Officer at Fort Leavenworth (and now I believe of the rebel army), threatened to arrest me if I should attempt to hold the election." And in another communication (to the *New York Tribune* August 9, 1856), "I met with many difficulties, and on one occasion was threatened with imprisonment by the commanding officer of one of the military posts in the Territory, for my attempt at 'revolution,' as he called it." Notwithstanding the fact that the military authorities forbade the holding of the election, the people went forward with their purpose. Seeing both their threats and their commands disobeyed, the election held, and Mr. Guthrie chosen, the opposition changed tactics, and called an election for Delegate at Fort Leavenworth. At this election a Mr. Banow was selected to oppose Mr. Guthrie. The intention was to choose Banow and defeat Guthrie at the sub-

¹ Often spoken of in Governor Walker's Journals, and sometimes called "Jonny O' Bludgeon."

² John Wanton Ladd, born in Warrick, R. I., August 10, 1793, died in Wyandotte, Kansas, Sept. 25, 1865. Buried in Huron Place Cemetery. He was the father-in-law of Matthew R., and Joel Walker.

³ Was a "hired man" in the "Nation." Worked for Governor Walker.

⁴ He is the "Old Connecticut" mentioned in Governor Walker's Journal.

sequent election, and send Banow forward for the purpose of preventing Mr. Guthrie from obtaining his seat, or to contest the seat if the Territory was organized and Mr. Guthrie admitted as Delegate. This action of the military was inspired by Senator Atchison of Missouri.

The people however, wanted the Territory organized, and refused to become a party to this movement for delay, political advantage, and confusion. Mr. Guthrie defeated Banow at this subsequent election by a vote of 54 to 16.

The opposition to Territorial organization was next felt in Washington. At that time there were two opposing and bitterly hostile factions in the Democratic party in the State of Missouri. One faction stood for moderation and the rights of slavery under existing laws without effort to extend it by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and was in favor of the organization of Nebraska Territory. This faction was led by Colonel Thomas H. Benton, Willard P. Hall, Frank P. Blair, Jr., and to some extent by the St. Louis *Republican*, the principal Democratic newspaper of the State. The other faction was radical, aggressive and extreme in favor of all matters and measures put forward by the slave power of the South. The real leader and the inspiring genius of this faction was William Cecil Price,¹ of Springfield. Senator

¹ William Cecil Price was born in Tazewell County, Virginia, and is a direct descendant of Lord Baltimore, who settled Maryland. He came with his parents to Green County, Missouri, in 1828. Was prominent in politics of the State until the war. Was an able lawyer, and was elected Probate Judge, Circuit Judge, District Attorney, Member of the Legislature, State Senator, Member of Congress, and held other positions of honor and trust. Organized and carried to a successful issue the fight on Colonel Thomas H. Benton, but in doing so divided the Democratic party of Missouri. Was Treasurer of the United States under President Buchanan. Was an advocate of secession, and selected Claiborn Jackson to be the candidate of the Democratic party of Missouri for Governor. Joined the Confederate army. Was captured at Wilson's Creek and for a long time confined in the military prison at Alton, Ills. He is one of the old school Southern gentlemen. He had a keen sense of humor. A friend once introduced him to a stranger, and remarked "Judge Price was in the United States Treasury under President Buchanan." "Yes," said the Judge, "and in the penitentiary under President Lincoln."

Judge Price was the leader in Missouri of the extreme and radical element of the

Atchison, Sterling Price and others were his able Lieutenants. All the outrages of the Border Ruffians were committed at the dictation of this faction, which was bitterly opposed to the organization of Nebraska Territory unless slavery could be expressly made one of its fundamental institutions. Mr. Guthrie set out for Washington, November 20th. On December 1st he wrote to Governor Walker, from Cincinnati, that he had traveled from St. Louis to Cincinnati with the Missouri Senators, Atchison and Geyer, and that no assistance from them could be expected.¹

When Mr. Guthrie arrived in Washington he set to work with great energy to accomplish the purpose for which he had been sent. On December 9th he wrote Governor Walker that Willard P. Hall, member of the House, had prepared a bill and would introduce it the following week.² The bill provided for the organization of the Territory of the Platte with the following boundaries: On the south, the thirty-sixth degree and thirty minutes; on the north, the forty-third degree; on the west, the summit of the Rocky Mountains; on the east, by Missouri. So effective were Mr. Guthrie's efforts that the Chairman of the Committee on Territories assured him that if Mr. Hall did not introduce his bill, the Committee would introduce one for the same purpose. Mr. Hall introduced his bill on the 13th of December, and it was referred to the Committee on Territories. Hall's bill was never reported by the Committee, but in lieu thereof William A. Richardson, of Illinois, from the Committee, reported a bill on February 2, 1853, providing for the organization of Nebraska Territory, with boundaries identical with those in Hall's bill. In the Committee of the Whole the bill met

Democracy until the war, but since then has not been active in politics. He insists yet that slavery is right, and that it was a blessing to the negro. Sterling Price was his cousin.

¹ See letter published in this work, page 76.

² This letter is published herein, page 73.

with strong opposition from Southern members and was reported back to the House with a recommendation for its rejection, but on February 10, 1853, it passed the House by a vote of 98 to 43. On the following day it was sent to the Senate where it was referred to the Committee on Territories, of which Stephen A. Douglas was Chairman. On February 17th, Mr. Douglas reported the bill without amendment. Several unsuccessful efforts were made to have it taken up. The Congressional term would expire by limitation March 4, and Mr. Guthrie was anxious to have it taken up as long before that date as possible. In the expiring hours of the session (March 3) it was taken up and by a vote of 23 to 17, laid on the table. Mr. Guthrie believed he had a majority for it in the Senate, and could it have been brought to a vote at an earlier date it is probable that it would have passed the Senate. Mr. Guthrie says in his letter to the *New York Tribune* that the bill was not brought to vote, but in this he is in error.

Although he failed in securing the passage of his bill, Mr. Guthrie virtually accomplished the object sought in his election. He forced a consideration of the question of the organization of Nebraska Territory. The passage of the bill for that purpose through the House and the close vote upon it in the Senate convinced the slave power that the question would have to be settled at the coming session of Congress.

II.

It was determined by the Wyandots that a Territorial Convention for the purpose of organizing a Provisional Government for Nebraska Territory should be held on the day appointed for their national festival, the Green Corn Feast. Their annual National election was often held on this ancient anniversary. In the year 1853 it was fixed to fall upon Tuesday, August 9th. The other emigrant tribes were noti-

fied of this intention, and asked to send delegates; and all white men then resident in the Territory among the emigrant tribes were requested to be present and participate in the work. Russell Garrett says these notices were written. Only such white persons as were then in the service of the Government in the capacity of Agents, Missionaries, Agency-farmers, Agency-blacksmiths, and Agency-carpenters, and the licensed Indian traders were permitted to live in the "Indian Territory." Colonel Benton was advised of this conclusion of the Wyandots, and he approved it, if, indeed, he had not urged it.

Another factor was entering into the movement for Territorial Government for Nebraska. This was the fixing of the location of the line of the railroad soon to be built between the Pacific Ocean and the Missouri River. Iowa wanted the initial point of this road on her western border, and Missouri contended that the valley of the Kansas River was the logical, most central, and most practicable route. Ever since the enormous and phenomenal emigration to California, the initial point of this "great national highway," as it had been called by Colonel Benton, had been a matter of contention between the people of Iowa and Missouri, and, to a certain extent, of the country at large. The North, generally, favored Council Bluffs as the starting point, and insisted that the valley of the Platte was the route of greatest utility, from a national standpoint. The South contended that the mouth of the Kansas River was the better location from which to start.¹ The controversy followed the old line drawn between the North and the South by the question of the extension of slavery, and was the one matter upon which the factions of the Missouri Democracy could unite.

In 1850, Colonel Benton had introduced in the Senate

¹ A fair statement of the contention in this matter is given in the paper of Hadley D. Johnson, a portion of which is printed in this work, page 83.

his bill for the location and construction of this "great national highway," and explained its leading features.¹ From that time the matter was one of general discussion, and opposing forces were seeking to fix the line of the road where it would best subserve their interests. A meeting in the interest of the Missouri or central route was appointed for July 26, 1853, in that part of the "Indian Country" or "Nebraska Territory" immediately west of Missouri. The Benton Democracy, for some reason unknown as yet, determined upon the organization of the Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory at this meeting.² It is known that Colonel Benton believed that the point at the mouth of the Kansas River would at some time in the near future become a great commercial center. He had been defeated for Senator in 1850-1 in the Missouri Legislature. Senator Atchison denounced his attempt to organize Nebraska Territory and charged him with the intention of removing his residence to the mouth of the Kansas River for the purpose of being elected United States Senator for Nebraska when it should be admitted as a State.³ William Cecil Price has often asserted to me that this ambition was the cause of Col. Benton's efforts to organize Nebraska Territory at this time.

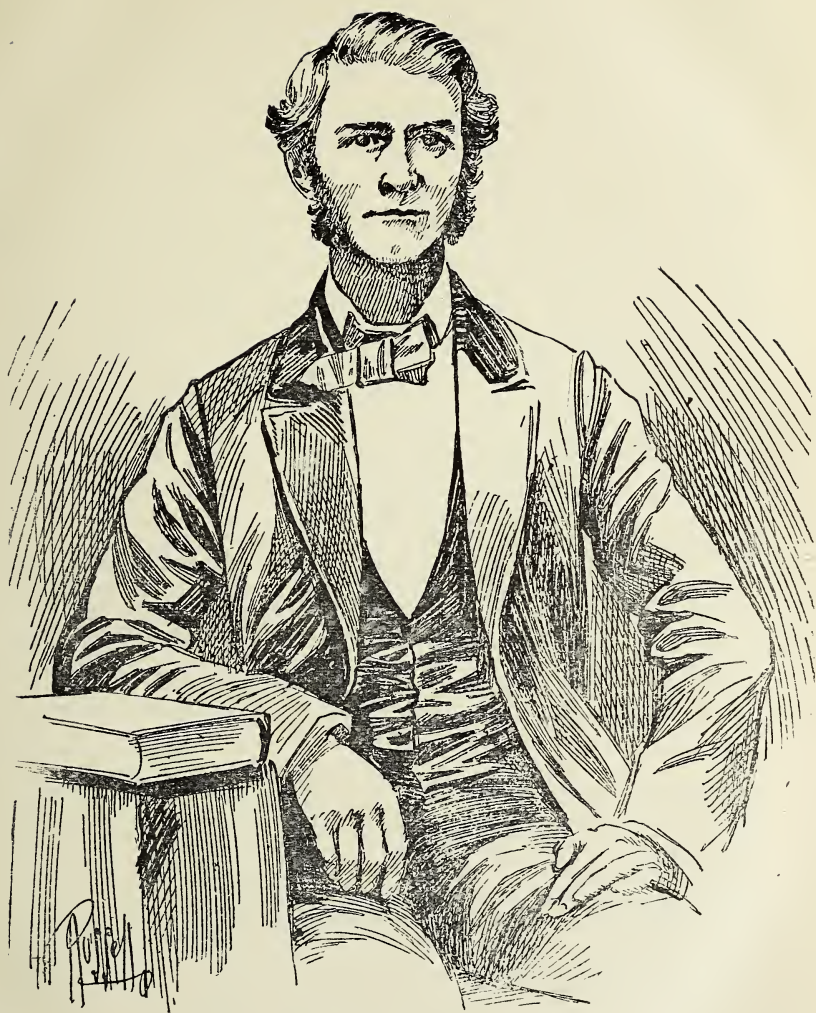
The determination to organize the Provisional Government of Nebraska at the Convention in the interest of the "Central Route" made it necessary that this meeting should be held in the Council House⁴ of the Wyandot Nation.

¹ See his remarks on the bill, made when he introduced it, published in this work, page 88.

² I have been unable to determine the cause of this. Judge Price does not think it could have been because the opposing faction of the Democratic party was intending to attempt to organize a Provisional Government in Nebraska Territory. To the best of his recollection, no such intention was ever entertained. But he admitted that Colonel Benton may have believed this, and that his belief may have hastened his actions.

³ Many of the old time Democrats of Missouri have told me this, among them Judge Price, General Shelby, and Judge Oliver.

⁴ The Council House stood in the center of what is now Fourth Street in Kansas City, Kansas, at the point where it is crossed by Nebraska Avenue. It is thus described by Mrs. Sarah Dagnett: "I can't tell the size. It had three windows on each



JUDGE WILLIAM C. PRICE.

Abelard Guthrie was, perhaps, the only Wyandot notified in advance, of this change in the programme. Governor Walker in his "Notes" says: "In the summer of 1853, a Territorial Convention was held pursuant to previous notice to be held in Wyandot. The Convention met on the 26th of July——." This statement does not say that the notice was that the Convention should meet on the 26th of July. In Governor Walker's entry in his Journal, describing the Convention and its proceedings, he states that he did not attend this meeting until noon and then only after he had, Cincinnatus-like, been sent for. It is more than probable that he did not know of the change in the order of events until he arrived at the Council House. The series of Resolutions adopted by the Convention and which served the Provisional Government as a Constitution bears only one resolution in his hand-writing. And it was not his intention to accept the position of Provisional Governor. Public office had no attractions for him. He intended that one of his brothers, Matthew R. Walker or Joel Walker, splendid business men of great energy, and both possessing fine executive ability, and several years younger than himself, should be selected as the Provisional Governor of Nebraska Territory.

Among the delegates to the Convention were the following persons: William Walker, Russell Garrett,¹ Silas

side and two in the east end and two in the west end—with the door between those in the west end. I remember it stood that way—east and west. It was a frame building and plastered. Always had a large box stove, as we had only wood to burn those days. The furnishings were of the most common kind—benches and common chairs, with one large square table. I can remember the table well, because they used to keep the money—gold and silver—stacked up on it during a payment time. The bulk of the money was kept at the Agency building across the street. Once during a payment a box containing \$1,000.00 was stolen, they supposed—never was found—so we were short that much."

¹ Russell Garrett lives at the present time in Ventura, California. He is the only Delegate to the Convention known to be now living. He wrote his recollections of this Convention for me. The following is taken from his letters:

"The building in which the Convention was held was a little, one-story, frame build-

Armstrong, W. F. Dyer,¹ Isaac Munday,² James Findley,³ ——— Grover,⁴ William Gilpin⁵ (afterwards Governor of Colorado), Thomas Johnson, George I. Clark, Joel Walker, Joel W. Garrett, Charles B. Garrett, Matthias Splitlog,⁶

ing, built and used for a school house and Council House. It stood on what is now the center of Nebraska Avenue and Fourth Street. It was a clear and pleasant day. You ask how delegates were chosen. By sending invitations to those who were interested in the formation of a Territorial Government to come and meet with us. There were about forty met with us. I think they all voted in the Convention."

The forty were exclusive of the Wyandots.

¹ W. F. Dyer "lived and kept a store on Grasshopper River at the Military Crossing on the road leading from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley," Russell Garrett writes me. He was afterwards County Treasurer of Jefferson County, Kansas. See *Kansas Historical Collections*, Vol. 3, 305.

² Isaac Munday was a blacksmith for the Delawares and lived at the "Delaware Crossing." This was the point where the Military Road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Scott crossed the Kansas River. This was only a very short distance above the point where the S. W. Corner of the "Wyandot Purchase" was fixed on the Kansas River. His house is marked on one of the old maps of the "Wyandot Purchase," although it was on Delaware land. Russell Garrett says: "I remember Isaac Munday very well. He was a blacksmith for the Delawares. He had a shop and lived at what was called at that time the Military Ferry. It crossed the Kansas River on the Military Road leading from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Scott. He lived at Westport, Mo., before he was appointed blacksmith for the Delaware Indians. I now remember that he was a Delegate to the Convention. I do not remember where he went to when the Delawares got through with him, if I ever heard."

³ James Findley was an Indian Trader at that time and lived at the "Delaware Crossing." He traded with the Delawares and Shawnees. I have this information from many persons yet living in the Indian Territory, and from Major John G. Pratt. Russell Garrett says: "James Findley lived at the Military Ferry. He was an Indian Trader. He kept a variety store and traded with the Delawares. He lived there with his family, as did Munday the blacksmith."

⁴ — Grover was the son of a Missionary to the Delawares. I have not been able to learn his given name. He was either D. A. N. Grover or Charles H. Grover. These were brothers, sons of a Missionary from some Church in Kentucky, to the Delawares. They were both in the Council of the Legislature of 1855, D. A. N. as a member and Charles H. as Assistant Clerk. From the quotations from their speeches given by Wilder, I should think that Charles H. was with the Delawares at the time, and if he was, he is the one that attended this Convention. They were lawyers. I find this in Russell Garrett's letters to me: "I knew a Mr. Grover and he was there, but I do not know where he lived or what he did. But his father was a Missionary among the Indians and was shifted around from pillar to post, so I cannot tell where he lived at that time. It may be that his son lived with him. I do not remember where they went to."

⁵ William Gilpin was at that time editor of some newspaper published at Independence, Mo.; or if not editor, in some way connected with it. He addressed the Convention. So says Mr. Garrett.

⁶ Matthias Splitlog was a Cayuga-Seneca by descent, his ancestors having been from each of those tribes. His immediate ancestors married into the Wyandots and furnished them some of their bravest warriors and chiefs. He was born in Canada in 1816, he has often told me. He married Eliza Charloe, a Wyandot, and came West with the

Tauromee, Abelard Guthrie, Matthew R. Walker, Francis A. Hicks, John W. Gray-Eyes, Irvin P. Long, H. C. Long, Captain Bull-Head, Baptiste Peoria, the Blue-Jackets and other Shawnees.

The only written account of the Convention and the proceedings that I have been able to find is that in Governor Walker's Journal, and which is as follows:

"Monday, July 25, 1853.—Cool and cloudy morning. Resumed cutting my grass. Warm thro' the day. Sent Harriet to Kansas for some medicines for Mr. C. who has every other day a chill. In the evening three gentlemen rode up and enquired if W. W. resided here. Upon being assured in the affirmative they stated they wished to stay all night. I sent them to C. B. G's. They said they were delegates to the Rail Road meeting in Nebraska on the 26th inst. I would gladly have entertained them, but owing to family sickness I was compelled to send them where I did.

"Tuesday, July 26, 1853.—Very cool and clear. Went over to C. B. G's and got my scythe ground. Warm day.

"On yesterday morning '*One-Hundred-Snakes*' *Standingstone* died of *Mania a potu*.

"At noon a messenger was sent for me to attend the Rail Road Convention. I saddled my horse and rode up to the Wyandott Council House, where I found a large collection of the *habitans* of Nebraska.

"The meeting was called to order and organized by the appointment of Wm. P. Birney¹ of Delaware, President, and Wm. Walker,

Wyandot Nation. His home was in what is now Connelley's Addition to Kansas City, Kansas. Here, at an early day, he built a horse-mill for grinding corn, but was of so eccentric a disposition that he often refused to "grind." He had a large family of children and much land was allotted to him for them when the Wyandots accepted their lands in severalty. These lands increased enormously in value and made him the famous "Millionaire Indian." Unprincipled white men swindled him out of much of his money. He built and equipped a railroad from Neosho, Mo., to the Arkansas State line. This road is now a part of the Pittsburg & Gulf main line. He was an ingenious man and could copy and construct almost any piece of machinery that he had opportunity to examine thoroughly. It was by taking advantage of his love for machinery that scoundrels interested him in schemes for the purpose of robbing him. He made his home in the Seneca country when the Wyandots moved to the Indian Territory. Here he erected a fine house and a fine church-building. He died there late in 1896.

¹ William P. Birney was an Indian Trader at Delaware in the Delaware Reserve, near the present village of White Church, Wyandotte County, Kansas. I have been able to learn but little of him. He remained in Wyandotte County, Kansas, at least

Secy. A Committee was then appointed to prepare resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting. James Findley, — Dyer and Silas Armstrong were appointed.

"In accordance with the resolutions adopted, the following officers were elected as a provisional government for the Territory: For provisional Governor, Wm. Walker; Sec'y of the Territory, G. I. Clark; Councilmen, R. C. Miller, Isaac Mundy, and M. R. Walker.

"Resolutions were adopted expressive of the Convention's preference of the *Great Central Rail Road Rout*.

A. Guthrie, late delegate was nominated as the Candidate for reelection. Adjourned."

While no boundaries were fixed for the Territory for which the Provisional Government was organized it was taken as a matter granted that the Territory included the same area as defined in the Hall and Richardson bills.

The organization of the Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory gave general satisfaction to the people of Missouri. Each faction of the Missouri Democracy became now intent on securing the Delegate to Congress to be elected in the following October. In this contest the Price-Atchison faction had a tremendous advantage as they controlled the patronage of the Indian Bureau of the Department of the Interior, while Mr. Guthrie, Benton's representative, could only depend upon his own personal efforts and the personal efforts of his friends.

Hand-bills were printed containing the record of the proceedings of the Convention. These were distributed, and were copied into the newspapers of Missouri. In Governor Walker's Journal mention is made of this fact:

"Thursday, July 28, 1853.—

"A. Guthrie called upon and dined with us to-day.

"Rec'd the printed proceedings of the Nebraska Territorial Con-

until the commencement of the war. He is frequently mentioned in Abelard Guthrie's Journals, and on the 13th of January, 1860, Guthrie's Journal speaks of him as living at that time in Quindaro City, or of his owning houses there.

vention. Great credit is due the Proprietors of the "Industrial Luminary" in Parkville for their promptitude in publishing the proceedings in hand-bills in so short a time."

III.

The first duty of the new Government was to call the election for Delegate, as directed by the resolutions of the Convention. Governor Walker's mention of this event is as follows:

"Saturday, July 30, 1853.—

"Well, by action of the Convention of Tuesday last I was elected Provisional Governor of this Territory. The first executive act devolving on me is, to issue a Proclamation ordering an election to be held in the different precincts of one delegate to the 33rd Congress.

"Monday, August 1, 1853.—Issued my proclamation for holding an election in the different precincts in the territory on the second Tuesday in October, for one delegate to the 33rd Congress."

This proclamation was printed and distributed throughout the Territory; and in all probability it was printed in most of the newspapers of Missouri.¹ Their preparation for distribution is mentioned by Governor Walker:

"Monday, August 8, 1853.—Geo. I. Clark, Sec'y of the Territory, called this morning and delivered the printed Proclamation (*200 copies*) for circulation."

It had been the hope of Colonel Benton and Mr. Guthrie that no candidate would be put forward to stand for election against the regular nominee of the Territorial Convention. While the leaders of the Price-Atchison Democracy of Missouri had opposed the organization of a Provisional Government and believed that the slave power could prevent the admission of Nebraska Territory and the recognition of its Provisional Government, it still believed it best to participate in the election for Delegate to Congress. A strong man

¹ See Hadley D. Johnson's statement, page 83.

in thorough sympathy with the extremists of the slave power of the South was sought for and found in the person of Rev. Thomas Johnson, Missionary of the M. E. Church, South, to the Shawnees. Mr. Johnson resided near Westport, Missouri, in the Shawnee country. The Shawnee and Kickapoo tribes are closely related by blood, and Mr. Johnson's nomination was made in the country of the latter tribe. Governor Walker says: "A few days after the adjournment of this Convention another rather informally was called at Kickapoo, at which Mr. Johnson was nominated as Candidate for Delegate. The latter then yielded to the wishes of his friends and became a candidate in opposition to the regular nominee."

Having secured a strong candidate the Price-Atchison Democracy brought to bear every influence at their command to secure his election. The Commissioner of Indian affairs came to the Territory where he remained more than a month to influence personally the emigrant tribes (and perhaps the other tribes) to vote for Mr. Johnson. Governor Walker leaves us enough evidence to confirm this.

"Tuesday, September 6, 1853.—Mr. Commissioner Manypenny came over in company with Rev. Thos. Johnson to pay the Wyandotts a visit. The Council being in session I introduced him to the Council. To which body he made a short address."

"Thursday, October 6, 1853.—"

"Received a letter from Maj. Robinson informing me that Com. Manypenny wished to have an interview with the Council to-morrow."

"Friday, October 7, 1853.—"

"Attended a Council called by the Com. of Indian Affairs. Speeches were passed between the parties on the subject of the Territorial organization, [and] selling out to the gov't."

"Tuesday, October 11, 1853.—Attended the election for delegate to Congress, for Wyandott precinct. Fifty-one votes only were polled.

A. Guthrie	33.
Tom Johnson	18.

"The priesthood of the M. E. Church made unusual exertions to obtain a majority for their *holy brother*. Amidst the exertions of their obsequious tools it was apparent it was an up-hill piece of business in Wyandott.

"Executed a commission to J. B. Nones as Commissioner and Notary Public for Nebraska Territory."

"Monday, October 31, 1853.—"

"I suppose we may safely set down Thomas Johnston's election for delegate as certain. It is not at all surprising, when we look at the fearful odds between the opposing Candidates. Mr. Guthrie had only his personal friends to support him with their votes and influence, while the former had the whole power of the Federal government, the presence and active support of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the military, the Indian Agents, Missionaries, Indian Traders, &c. A combined power that is irresistible."

The Territorial Council canvassed the returns of the election at the Wyandot Council House Nov. 7, 1853, and issued a Certificate of election to Mr. Johnson on Nov. 8th. Governor Walker notes these transactions in his Journal:

"Monday, November 7, 1853.—Attended at the Council House at an early hour, tho' in poor health."

"The Territorial Council, Sec'y and Governor, then proceeded to open the returns of the Territorial Election. After canvassing the Returns it appeared that Thomas Johnson' had received the highest number of votes and was declared elected delegate to the 33rd Congress.

¹ Rev. Thomas Johnson was born in Virginia, July 11, 1802. He was assassinated in his own home in Kansas, near Westport, Mo., January 2, 1865.

He was sent by the M. E. Church to preach to the Shawnees in the "Indian Territory," in 1829. After laboring here for some time, he was compelled to abandon his work on account of poor health, and he then moved to Fayette, Mo. In 1847 he was prevailed upon to resume his work in the Shawnee Mission Schools. From this time until his death he was prominent in the councils of the Price-Atchison Democracy of Missouri in their efforts to introduce slavery into Nebraska and Kansas. He was elected President of the first Territorial Council of Kansas Territory, in 1855. This was the "Upper House" of the Legislature that enacted the "Bogus Laws." The laws fill a large volume. Many of them are infamous.

Mr. Johnson was a good man. The cause which he believed a holy one was in fact a bad one and was hastened to destruction by the madness of its advocates. His firm belief in its righteousness is not surprising, for it had been instilled into his mind from

"Tuesday, November 8, 1853.—J. W. Garrett¹ deputy Secretary, attended at my House and we issued the certificate of election to Thomas Johnston delegate elect to the 33rd Congress."

The Wyandots felt outraged by the action of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs but as their interests were so largely in his hands they could do nothing else than submit without protest, and this they all did, except Mr. Guthrie. He filed a contest for the seat of Delegate and vigorously attacked the Commissioner of Indian affairs in the public prints. He spent a portion of the winter in Washington and labored for the Territorial Government of Nebraska until he was convinced that the slave power would organize two Territories, and endeavor to make one slave, and permit the other to come into the Union, free. In relation to Mr. Guthrie's attacks on the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Governor Walker says:

"Saturday, November 12, 1853.—"

"Mr. Guthrie called and examined the election returns for delegate, and intends taking copies of them.

"Thursday November 24, 1853.—"

"Wrote a communication to Col. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, correcting an error in a communication published in the Missouri Democrat by Mr. A. Guthrie in relation to a speech delivered by the former to the Wyandott Council.

"Thursday, January 12, 1854.—"

"Rec. two letters from A. Guthrie. In trouble again. Wants cer-

infancy. He did what he believed to be right. He was a true and humble Christian and an eloquent and earnest minister of the Gospel. There is an excellent biography of Mr. Johnson in Andreas's History of Kansas, page 300. It was prepared by his friend, Rev. Nathan Scarritt, of Kansas City, Mo.

¹ Joel Walker Garrett was the son of George Garrett, who died February 17, 1846, aged 46 years. George Garrett was the brother of Charles B. Garrett. He married Nancy Walker, sister of Governor Walker. Joel Walker Garrett was their oldest child. He was born June 18, 1826. He married Jennie Ayers. Their daughter Nina lives yet in Kansas City, Kansas.

Joel Walker Garrett was appointed Deputy Secretary of State for Nebraska Territory, and he seems to have performed most of the labor attached to the Secretary's Office. He died August 25, 1862.

tificates to prove his charges against Commissioner Manypenny. I can't help him much.

"Saturday, January 28, 1854.—.

"Rec'd an "Ohio State Journal." This is the amount of my mail. Guthrie out on Col. Manypenny again. The former, I fear, will come off second best. He is imprudent and rash."

But bitter as the fight became between Johnson and Guthrie, they were not the only candidates voted for at this election. Governor Walker says:

"Upon canvassing the returns it was found that a third candidate was voted for in the Bellevue precinct, in the person of Hadley D. Johnston, Esq., who rec'd 358 votes.

"From information derived from that precinct it appeared that Mr. Johnston was an actual resident of Iowa, and at that time a member of the Legislature of that State; and an additional circumstance tending to vitiate the election in this precinct, was that a large majority of the voters were actual residents of that State. The officers were compelled to reject these returns."

Mr. Johnson's statement will be found in another part of this work. His credentials consisted only of the Certificate of the judges and clerks of the election stating the fact that he received a certain number of votes in the election held in the Bellevue precinct. The poll-books must have been sent to the Provisional Government as the returns were canvassed there; and it is more than probable that Mr. Johnson's certificate was not written until after it was known that the votes of the Bellevue precinct had been rejected by the Territorial Council.

Governor Walker's Journal says on March 27, 1854, "Heard that Hon. Thomas Johnson, Delegate elect from this Territory, returned from Washington yesterday."

IV.

The cause of the failure of the Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory to secure recognition from the Government of the United States was the division of the Territory it represented into two separate Territories by the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Governor Walker says in his Notes that "the provisional government of Nebraska continued in existence till after the organization by Congress of the two Territories and the arrival of A. H. Reeder, the first Governor of Kansas."

V.

What did this movement for the organization of Nebraska Territory accomplish? It forced the Thirty-third Congress to action. This action and its consequences are matters of history. The results which Mr. Guthrie claims for himself in his statement to Congress are justly the results of this whole movement. The claim that these results were due to the organization and efforts of the Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory is certainly entitled to consideration, at least.

DOCUMENTS RELATING
TO
THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT
OF
NEBRASKA TERRITORY.

PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS.¹

Adopted July 26, 1853, in the Council House of the Wyandot Nation, in what is now Wyandotte County, Kansas, but at that time in what was known and spoken of as Nebraska Territory; said Convention being held for the purpose of selecting provisional officers and organizing a Provisional Government for Nebraska Territory. This is the Constitution of the Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory—the first State Paper of Nebraska and Kansas.

¹ These resolutions are copied from the original now in my possession. It was given to me by Mrs. Margaret Pipe, a Wyandot, now living in the Wyandot Reserve in the Indian Territory. Governor Walker spent much time, when in the Indian Territory, at the home of Irvin P. Long, and as he had no home at that time, he carried all his important papers to the Wyandot Reserve with him. He gave Mr. Long this and other papers. Mrs. Pipe cared for Mr. Long's household during the last years of his life and her daughter was adopted by Mr. Long and made his heir by will. She did not know the historical value of these papers, and in house cleaning burned large quantities of them, as useless rubbish, so she said. Some of his papers he carried to Ohio with him a short time before his death, and he gave some of his Journals and many of his papers to some one in Columbus to keep long enough to copy certain portions of them. I am confident this was a Mr. Geo. W. Hill. None of them were ever returned to him. Governor Walker died at the house of Mr. Henry Smalley, now of Springfield, Mo. Mrs. Smalley says that after his death some one representing a Historical Society came and got some of his books and papers. So, to date, these invaluable papers are scattered abroad. Mr. H. M. Northrup and Nicholas McAlpine both told me that the mice destroyed many of his papers, including his History of the Wyandots.

I searched for this paper for many years. I looked through hundreds of receptacles for old papers in the public offices of Wyandotte County, Kansas, with the hope of finding it.

Whereas it appears to be the will of the people of the United States that the Mississippi Valley and Pacific Ocean shall be connected by railroad to be built at the national expense and for the national benefit; it becomes the duty of the people to make known their will in relation to the location of said road and the means to be employed in its construction. In selecting a route "the greatest good to the greatest number" should be the first consideration and economy in the construction and in protecting the road should be the second

In estimating the 'greatest good to the greatest number,' present population alone should not govern, but the capability of the regions to be traversed by the road, for sustaining population should be considered

Economy in the construction will be best secured by the cultivation of a productive soil, where materials for the road exist, along and contiguous to the line of road whereby provisions, labor and materials can be obtained at low rates. Then the farmers with their teeming fields will ever be in advance of the railroad laborer to furnish him with abundance of wholesome food at prices which free competition always reduces to a reasonable standard. At the same time they will be a defense to the work and the workman against savage malice without the expense of keeping up armies and military posts. These too will be the surest and safest protectors of the road when finished and without expense to the Government. But should the road be constructed through barren wastes and arid mountains and upon the frontier of a foreign and jealous and hostile people an immense and expensive military power must be erected to protect it—a power ever dangerous to freedom and desirable only to despots. In view of these facts therefore be it

Resolved That from personal knowledge of the country and from reliable information derived from those who have traveled over it we feel entire confidence in the eligibility of the Central Route as embracing within itself all the advantages and affording all the facilities necessary to the successful prosecution of this great enterprise.

Resolved That grants of large bodies of the public lands to corporate companies for the purpose of building railroads, telegraph lines or for any purpose whatever are detrimental to the public interests, that they prevent settlement, are oppressive and unjust to the pioneer settler and retard the growth and prosperity of the country in which they lie.

Resolved That we cordially approve of the plan for the construction of a railroad to connect the Mississippi valley and Pacific Ocean recently submitted to the public by the Hon. Thomas H. Benton whereby the settlement and prosperity of the vast country between Missouri and California will be promoted and the construction of that great work be rendered much cheaper, more expeditious, and more universally useful.¹

Resolved That it was with profound regret that we heard of the failure of the bill to organize a government for Nebraska Territory; that justice and sound policy alike demand the consummation of this measure and we therefore respectfully but earnestly recommend it to the favorable consideration of Congress and ask for it the earliest possible passage.²

Resolved That the people of Nebraska cherish a profound sense of obligation to the Hon. Thomas H. Benton and to the Hon. Willard P. Hall of Missouri for their generous and patriotic exertions in support of the rights and interests of our territory and that we hereby express to them our grateful acknowledgements.³

Whereas it is a fundamental principle in the theory and practice of our government that there shall be no taxation without representation and the citizens of Nebraska being subject to the same laws for the collection of revenue for the support of government as other citizens of the United States it is but right that they shall be represented in Congress, therefore be it⁴

Resolved That the citizens of Nebraska Territory will meet in their respective precincts on the second Tuesday of October next and elect one delegate to represent them in the thirty third Congress.

Resolved That this Convention do appoint a provisional Governor, a provisional Secretary of State and a Council of three persons, and that all election returns shall be made to the Secretary of State and be by him opened and the votes counted in the presence of the Governor and Council on the second Tuesday of November next and that

¹ See in another part of this work this plan, and Colonel Benton's remarks to the United States Senate when he brought in his bill, page 88.

² The Hall-Richardson bill.

³ If there remained any question as to who inspired the movement to action at this particular time, this Resolution would settle it.

⁴ This preamble is crossed out, in the original document, by drawing the pen diagonally through it each way.

a certificate of election shall be issued by them to the person having the largest number of votes.¹

Resolved that while we earnestly desire to see this territory organized, and become the home of the white man, we as earnestly disclaim all intention or desire to infringe upon the rights of the Indians holding lands within the boundaries of said territory²

Resolved that the people of Nebraska territory are not unmindful of the services rendered by our late Delegate in Congress the Hon Abelard Guthrie, and we hereby tender him our sincere thanks and profound gratitude for the same

Resolved that this Convention nominate a suitable person to represent Nebraska territory in the 33rd Congress

Resolved that Editors of Newspapers throughout the country favorable to the Organization of Nebraska Territory and to the Central Route, to the Pacific Ocean are requested to publish the proceedings of this Convention³

Resolved That the Editors of newspapers throughout the country who are favorable to the organization of Nebraska Territory and to the Central Route to the Pacific Ocean are requested to publish the proceedings of this Convention⁴

Endorsed on the back are these words:

Preamble and resolutions to be submitted to the Nebraska Convention to meet on the 26th July 1853⁵

¹ To this point the Resolutions are in the same handwriting, a small, rather heavy, running hand, having some appearance of having been written with a quill pen. The ink is a deep black. I feel confident that they were written by Mr. Dyer, as he was the Chairman, of the Committee on Resolutions, appointed by the Convention.

² This Resolution is in the handwriting of Governor Walker. The ink used was of a poorer quality than that used by Mr. Dyer.

³ This and the two preceding Resolutions are in the handwriting of Abelard Guthrie. The ink used was a dark blue. Mr. Guthrie must have carried a bottle of this ink with him. He seems to have used no other kind for some years.

⁴ This Resolution is in Mr. Dyer's handwriting, and must have been written before the meeting of the Convention, at the same time the other Resolutions in Dyer's handwriting were prepared, probably some days before the Convention. Guthrie evidently overlooked the fact that this Resolution was already written, as his last one is almost exactly like it.

⁵ This indicates that the Resolutions were drawn up some considerable time before the Convention met.

PROCLAMATION.¹

In pursuance of the sixth Resolution adopted in the general Convention of the citizens of Nebraska Territory to organize a provisional govt and other purposes held in Wyandott City on the 26th ultimo, embraced in the following words, viz: "Resolved: That the citizens of Nebraska Territory will meet in their respective precincts on the second Tuesday of October next, and elect one delegate to represent them in the thirty third Congress of the United States":

I, William Walker, by virtue of authority in me vested as Provisional Governor of Nebraska Territory, do issue this my Proclamation, notifying the legal voters in the said Territory to meet in their respective precincts on the second Tuesday in October next ensuing, then and there to elect one delegate to represent this Territory in the 33rd Congress of the United States, under such rules and regulations as the Territorial Council may prescribe.

Given under my hand [and] seal at Wyandott City, Nebraska Territory, this the 1st day of Aug, Anno Domini 1853 and of the Independence of the United States the seven-
 seventh year

WM WALKER

Provisional Governor of the Territory of Nebraska

G. I. CLARK²

Secy of the Territory

Endorsed on back:

"The Industrial Luminary"

Nebraska

¹ This Proclamation is a model in brevity, strength of language, and the absence of unnecessary, official tautology.

² George I. Clark was the son of — Clark who married — Brown, daughter of Adam Brown, the adopted white man who was Chief of the Wyandots, and who purchased William Walker, Sr., from the Delawares. See sketch of the Walker family, in this work. George I. Clark was born June 10, 1802. He was a man of influence in the Wyandot Nation, and was elected Head Chief. He was a good man. Abelard Guthrie says in his Journal: "I mourn his loss with tears—the first that have moistened my eyes for years." He belonged to that faction of his people that favored the old Church and opposed slavery. He and J. M. Armstrong maintained that slavery was wholly foreign to ancient Wyandot customs and usage. They said, with entire truth, that any member of the tribe must necessarily be as free as any other member of it. That the tribe in ancient times either killed or adopted all prisoners of war. If adopted,

RULES FOR CONDUCTING THE ELECTION.

Rules adopted by the Territorial Council of Nebraska, prescribing the manner of conducting the election of Delegate to the 33rd Congress of the United States :

First. On the 11th day of Oct next ensuing, the voters in each precinct will assemble at the hour of 10 o'clock A. M. and shall proceed to appoint three Judges of election and one Clerk ; who shall, previously to entering upon their respective duties, be sworn to act faithfully, fairly and impartially in conducting the election. The oath to be administered by the Seignior Judge, then by a Junior Judge to him.

Second. The seignior Judge shall then proclaim publicly the opening of the polls and add, "*Voters prepare your ballots.*"

Third. The voters shall vote by ballot printed or written, and the seignior Judge shall receive the ballots and announce the names of the voters, the Clerk recording the names of such voters in the appropriate column of the Poll book ; the Judge then depositing the ballots in a Box or some other suitable receptacle.

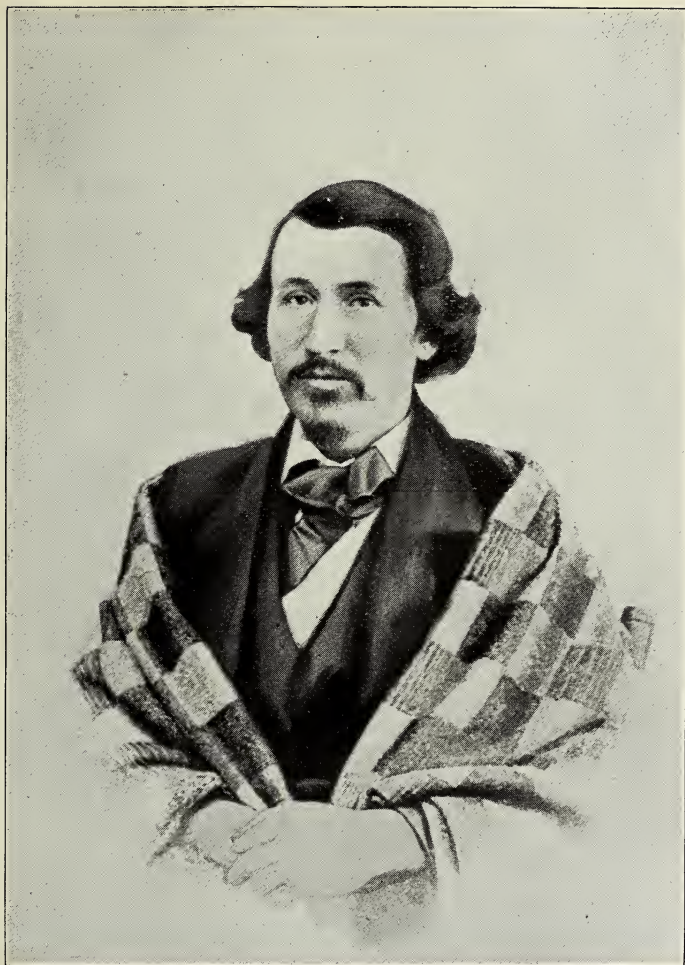
Fourth. The Polls shall be kept open from 11 o'clock A. M. till the hour of 4 o'clock P. M., when the Judge shall publicly proclaim "*the Polls closed*".

Fifth. To insure a full vote from all the voters present, at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 P. M. the Seignior Judge shall publicly proclaim that in "*one half hour more, the Polls will be closed*".

Sixth. The Judges and Clerk shall then proceed to canvass the votes and as each ballot is read aloud, the clerk shall enter in the column under the name of each candidate the ballot so cast for each

they were entitled to all the privileges of those born into the tribe. He and the wife of Abelard Guthrie were cousins, and he seems uniformly to have supported Guthrie. He married Catherine —. They had three children : 1. Richard W.; 2. Harriet W.; and 3. Mary J. They are buried in Huron Place Cemetery. The following is copied from the stone at the head of George I. Clark's grave:

(Square and Compass.)
George I. Clark
Head Chief of the
Wyandott Nation
 Born
 June 10 1802
 Died
 June 25 1858
 Aged 56 Yrs
 7 Mo 8 Ds.



JOEL WALKER GARRETT.

respectively. The Clerk shall then under supervision of the J[udges] add up the votes cast for each Candidate and enter the aggregate at the foot of each column. The Seignior Judge shall then publicly announce the result.

Seventh. The Judges shall then append a certificate at the bottom of the Poll book officially signed by them and countersigned by the Clerk—Fold up and seal and forward the same by some safe conveyance to the address of—

“GEORGE I. CLARK

*Secretary of the Territory of Nebraska
Wyandott City”.—*

Endorsed, Poll Book

for.....Precinct

Nebraska Territory

Si[☒]th Unnaturalized citizens or foreigners are excluded from participating in the election the same as in the States.

Adopted Sept 10, 1853.

GEO I. CLARK

Secretary of the Territory

Approved :

W^m WALKER

Provis^l Governor.

FORM.

Return of the election held in the precinct of
Nebraska Territory for Delegate to the 33d Congress of the United States on the second Teusday in Oct 1853 :

VOTERS NAMES	CANDIDATES' NAMES.		
	A. B.	C. D.	E. F.
V. D. Hale.....	1		
J. L. H.....		1	
J. L. S.....			1
Tho O. S.....		1	
D. A. L.....	1		
W. M. O.....			1
P. S.....		1	
T. P.....	1		
L. G.....		1	

..... Precinct Nebraska Territory Oct..... 1853.

We the undersigned Judges of the election for this precinct, certify that the above is a correct account of the votes polled in this precinct for delegate to the 33rd Congress of the U. S. and that C. D. recd a majority (or plurality as the case may be) of all the votes cast

POLL BOOK OF THE PRECINCT OF OLD FORT KEARNEY, NEBRASKA TERRITORY.¹

I Certify that pursuant to a Call for an election to be held on the 2d Monday of Oct 1853 at Old fort Kea[r]ney Commencing at 12 M. and closing at 4 O.Clock P. M. for a Del[e]gate to Congres[s] for Nebra[s]k[a] Ter[r]it[or]y

- No. 1 H. P. Downs
 2 Thomas Helvey
 3 John. B. Boulwane
 4 Wm. C. Folkes
 5 Joel. Helvey
 6 Isham Holland

I Certify this is a Correct Statement of an elettion held this the 10th day of October 1853 given unde[r] my hand as above Stated

JOEL HELVEY

H. P. DOWNS²

Clerk of an election

Judg[e] of an election

¹ This poll book is, I believe, entitled to the distinction of complete originality. I have studied it deeply and have failed to find even an intimation or suggestion in it as to whom the six votes it records as having participated in the election were cast for.

² The following is from Rev. William H. Good's "Outposts of Zion (Cincinnati, 1864), page 264. Mr. Good was at Old Fort Kearney in August, 1854, reaching the house of Major Downs on the first:

"Returning to Oregon, I again took stage early on the morning of August 1st, and about midnight, crossing the State line, reached Sidney, Iowa. Here I again left the stage, obtained a horse, and set off with a guide for the Territory, about fifteen miles distant. Reaching the Missouri River opposite Old Fort Kearney, I was surprised to find a fine steam ferry-boat. The enterprising proprietors of the two young cities just laid out at the site of the old fort, determining to 'take time by the forelock,' had made provision for an anticipated amount of travel and emigration, and consequent ferry patronage, which has never been realized. My first crossing at this point was under pleasant auspices. But this was of short duration, and many weary hours have I since lingered and shivered, or sweated upon the shore, waiting the slow movements of one of the most dilatory flat-boat transits upon the river. Many of the early improvements in this country, especially in the vicinity of contemplated cities, were

POLL BOOK OF THE PRECINCT OF MIAMI, NEBRASKA TERRITORY.

At an Election held at Miami, in the Osage River Agency, on Tuesday, the 11th day of October 1853 for the purpose of Electing

ahead of the times, and were compelled to take a step back till the actual wants of the country should call for their reappearance.

"Old Fort Kearney was an evacuated military post, the name and the troops having been transferred to a new post about two hundred miles up the Platte River. A substantial block-house, one old log dwelling, and the remains of a set of rude, temporary barracks, were all that was there to be seen of the old fort. Squatters had taken possession of the lands, and the two rivals, Nebraska City and Kearney City, had been laid off, the one above and the other below the mouth of South Table Creek. The site of the old fort, now of Nebraska City, is bold and fine. I found a single frame shanty erected, in which were a few goods, and a single settler in the old fort cabin in the person of Major Downs. The Major had served through the Mexican war, accompanied by his heroic wife; afterward was a sergeant among the troops at the garrison, and, on its evacuation, had been left in charge of the government property. Being on the ground and in actual possession at the passage of the organizing act, he laid his 'claim' upon the land on which the fort stood, and became the original proprietor of Nebraska City. I found him to be a frank, generous hearted soldier, possessing some noble traits of character, with some unfortunate remains of army habits. He took me to his house, treated me kindly and generously, exhibited quite an interest in my mission, took down his city plat, and, in my presence, marked off certain lots, since risen to a value equal to five times the outlay and expenses of my whole trip, which he then and there donated to the Methodist Episcopal Church. Major D. has since served one term in the Nebraska Legislature, and has been appointed Major-General of the militia of the Territory. Others became interested with him in the proprietorship of the city, and in the result he reaped but little pecuniary benefit from his early occupancy. But in my reminiscences of Nebraska pioneers I shall never forget Major Downs and his amiable lady. Their house has always been open for personal accommodation or for public religious service, and his large heart has always stood out in generous actions. They have both for some time been seeking for a higher life. I hope to meet them above."*

Early in the following winter Mr. Good again visited Old Fort Kearney and he leaves us this record of the event (see page 319):

"After a laborious week's travel, I succeeded, on Saturday afternoon, in reaching the ferry opposite Old Fort Kearney, *alias* Nebraska City. But the steam ferry-boat was gone, and slender substitutes were left. The ice was running in large quantities, and the prospect gloomy of reaching my intended point for the Sabbath, though now in sight. Ordinary ferrying was suspended. Finding, however, a bold, skillful man—whose kind services I have repeatedly since had in time of need—about to cross, we tied ourselves on to his fortunes, entered the skiff, and made our way through the vast field of floating ice to the opposite shore.

"Again in Nebraska City, I called on my friend Major Downs, who, meantime, had erected a large frame hotel. His house was crowded to its utmost capacity, and the weather severe. He offered to take me in, but the prospect was forbidding. I inquired for the preacher, whom I understood to be on the ground, and was pointed to a cabin on the opposite side of Table Creek, at quite a distance, where he was

* Major D. has since served honorably in his country's cause as Lieutenant-Colonel of Nebraska Volunteers.—1863.

a Delegate to represent Nebraska Territory in the next Congress of the United States the following is the result

VOTERS NAMES.	Thomas Johnson.	Abelard Guthrie.
James Chenault.....	1	
David Lykins.....	2	
Joseph Jebo.....	3	
William A. Heiskell.....	4	
Luther Paschal.....	5	
John Paschal.....	6	
Thomas I. Hedges.....	7	
Baptiste Peoria ¹	8	
Andrew Kaskaskia.....	9	
— Mitchell.....	10	
Peter Cloud.....	1	
Chin. gwa. ke. ah.....	2	
Kah. a. sha.....	3	

supposed to be boarding. Dark was about setting in, when, leaving my young companion to the chances of the hotel, and taking my course, I set out on foot for the place. The creek intervened, with a thicket of timber and brushwood, and the cabin was lost from my view. It grew darker and darker as I crossed the creek and ascended the opposite hill, till I found myself entangled in the brushwood, and bewildered in my course. For a time I wandered and called, but met no response. The lights in the city were yet to be seen. Wishing to take an observation while I could, I drew out my pocket-compass, lighted a match, and took the course; then started again, traveling as I could, and calling aloud. At length, through an opening cabin-door, I espied a light, and heard a female voice in response. Seldom has a gentle voice fallen more gratefully upon my ear. I made way to the place, and was invited in. The preacher was not there, the husband was absent, and the lady was alone with her little children. I told her who and what I was. Late and dark as it was, I accepted her kind invitation for the night, was well entertained, and formed an acquaintance with a worthy Christian lady. The husband returned soon, and I made the brushwood cabin my home during my stay.

"On the day following, being the Sabbath, Major D. tendered a room of his hotel for public service, and I occupied it for preaching. The day was cold; men kept within doors; some rudely running up and down stairs; a group of shivering Indians stood and looked curiously on; but there was a goodly number of attentive and solemn hearers, and I trust the seed was not sown in vain. The Major would have me dine with him, but, to secure the object, had to take me in privately and seat me before the rush of hungry men in waiting was let in, for frontier's-men are proverbial for appetite, and not always very deferential to the appetites or the positions of others.

"This was all of the first quarterly meeting for Old Fort Kearney mission."

¹ Baptiste Peoria was the leading man of the Peoria tribe. I have been unable to obtain material for even a brief sketch of his life.

VOTERS NAMES.	Thomas Johnson.	Abelard Guthrie.
Pe. si. ah.....	4	
Joe Peoria.....	5	
Battiste Basure.....	6	
Chal. U. lie.....	7	
Ken. ge tah no sah.....	8	
Jack Boys	9	
Go. to. kah. poo. ah.....	20	
Se pah. ka. ah.....	1	
Pah. kon. ge. ah.....	2	
Kish. e. wan. e. sah.....	3	
Tah. wah. kwah. ke. naw. gah.....	4	
Pe. tah. nah. ke. kah. poo. ah.....	5	
O. zar. ah. ke. yow. gah	6	
Mah. kon. sah	7	
Kah. ke. lan. gwau. gah.....	8	
Wah. pah. koo. se. ah	9	
Chah. pen. doo. ce. ah.....	30	
Bazie Boye.....	1	
Lewis Dequine.....	2	
Capt. Big Legs.....	3	
Sam Delaware.....	4	
Little Doctor.....	5	
Kil. son. sah.....	6	
Wan. sah. pe. ah.....	7	
Wah. pan. e. kah. poo. ah	8	
Nap. shin. gah.....	9	
Nah. wan. ge. ah.....	40	
Kil. son. sah.....	1	
Ke. no. zan. yah.....	2	
Go. to. kahs. poo. ah.....	3	
Wap. shin. gah.....	4	
Lewis Peckham.....	5	
Elie Geboe.....	6	
Old Beaver.....	7	
Yellow Beaver.....	8	
— Wilson.....	9	
Kish e kon. sah.....	50	
	50 ¹	00

¹ There is a certain uniformity and a noticeable sameness in the vote of this precinct that must have struck Mr. Guthrie as being remarkable, at least.

Endorsed on back :

Messrs. Munday, Miller & Grover

Delaware

Miami Polls.

N. T.

CERTIFICATE OF ELECTION.

Whereas at the late general Convention of delegates which assembled in Wyandott City, Nebraska Territory, on the 26th day of July, 1853, among the Acts of the said Convention, was the adoption of the two following Resolutions, viz: "6 Resolved. That the citizens of "Nebraska Territory will meet in their respective precincts on the "second Tuesday in October next, and elect one delegate to the 33rd "Congress.

"7. Resolved. That this Convention do appoint a provisional Governor, a provisional Secretary of the Territory and a Council of three "persons, and that all election returns shall be made to the Secretary "of the Territory and be by him opened and counted in the presence "of the Governor and Council on the second Tuesday in November "next, and that a certificate shall be issued by them to the person having "the highest number of votes"—And Whereas in pursuance of the above Resolutions, elections were held, returns were made to the Secretary and by his deputy "opened and counted in the presence of the Governor and Council," and it appearing that Thomas Johnston having received the highest number of votes is, by virtue of authority in me vested, declared duly elected delegate to represent Nebraska Territory in the 33rd Congress of the United States.¹

Given under my [hand] at Wyandott City this the 8th day of November A. D. one thousand eight hundred and fifty three and of the Independence of the United States the seventy seventh year—

WM WALKER

Provisional Governor

JOEL. W. GARRETT

Deputy provisional Secretary of the Territory—

¹ Thomas Johnson must have carried the original certificate of election to Washington with him. But the original from which this is copied is in my possession, and while it may have been intended for the first draft of the certificate it is well executed and is in Governor Walker's handwriting. It is most probable that the certificate was issued in duplicate, one copy being retained by the Provisional Government; the other given to Mr. Johnson.

APPLICATION FOR APPOINTMENT AS COMMISSIONER
OF DEEDS.

RICHMOND VA Feby 25th 1854.

DEAR SIR:

I will be much obliged to you, if you will confer upon me the appointment of Commissioner of Deeds, &c for the territory of Nebraska. Below are the signatures of members of Congress to whom I beg leave to refer you as to my character and qualifications¹

Very Respectfully,

Your Obt^t Serv^t.

ABEL UPSHUR MAYO.

*To His Excellency**The Governor of Nebraska.*

J. M. MASON	}	Va. U. S. Senators.
M. T. HUNTER		

J. S. CASKIE	}	Va. Representatives
J. LETCHER.		

P. S. I am authorized to refer also to Senators Thomas J. Rusk and Samuel Houston of Texas.

Respy.

A. U. MAYO.

LETTER FROM O. H. BROWNE TO GOVERNOR
WALKER.

MILLERSVILLE

ANNE ARUNDEL Co.,

MARYLAND

Oct. 17th 1853

*His Excellency**William Walker**Prov.. Governor &c.*

SIR

I have taken the liberty of enclosing the Maryland *State Capitol Gazette*, a leading Democratic paper, containing a notice of Nebraska, which I hope will meet your approbation.

¹ The signatures are genuine autographs and not a list of names furnished by Mr. Mayo for Governor Walker to write to if he so desired.

If I can be of service to you personally, or to the Territory, let me know in what manner, and your wishes shall be imperative with me

Allow me to subscribe myself personally and politically and *sincerely*¹

Your Friend

O. H. BROWNE

LETTER FROM GOVERNOR WALKER TO O. H.
BROWNE.

[The following letter, it is believed, is a letter to O. H. Browne, Esq., the writer of the foregoing letter. It is evidently not an answer to the foregoing, but one of a correspondence of which it was the commencement. This correspondence resulted in Mr. Browne's coming to Kansas to live, as suggested in the following letter. He settled in Osage County and engaged in farming, and was elected to the Legislature in 1865; he was then 45 years old; his Post-office was Ridgeway. He died in Rice County, July 22, 1874, aged 59 years.]

MY DEAR SIR—

Your favor of the — reached me while confined to my bed with a violent attack of Pneumonia, from which I am now slowly recovering. I am not sure that "gin horse prudence" would, as the Scottish poet would say if consulted, sanction this attempt at clerical labor, while so enfeebled in body and depressed with mental imbecility and weakness:—certain I am, my worthy physician would interpose his earnest remonstrance against any such premature labors.

But it is my desire, if I can do nothing more, to tender to you my warm thanks for your favor and the slip enclosed containing your letter addressed to the p—. Accuse me not, my dear sir, with fulsome flattery when I say that I listened to its reading with admiration and delight, and mentally exclaimed, *This is just what is so much needed at the present juncture—facts and figures that are incontrovertible.*

¹ In his Journal Governor Walker mentions writing to Mr. Browne.

I must be brief. I wish here to state a fact that you may not be aware of, that slavery has existed in what is now called "Kansas Territory," and still exists, both among Indians and whites regardless of the exploded Mo Com. Some of the slaves are held by the former by virtue of their own laws and usages, and some by regular bills of sale from citizens of Mo. How will this description of Indian "property" be protected if the change in D's bill, so clamorously called for, be made? Will that clause in the First section which provides "That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to impair the rights of person or *property* now pertaining to the Indians in the said Territory" protect them in their right to this kind of property? To my mind this is not so clear.

Be pleased to accept of the thanks of the Officers of the Prov gov't for your able defence of them.

For your information, which you may use hereafter should occasion arise, I will state that there is not one of these men intermarried with the Indians. Of the members of the Territorial Council [torn away here] R. C. M. [R. C. Miller] a native, I believe of the Ancient Dominion is a licensed trader among the Pot[tawatomie] Indians. Mr I. M. [Isaac Mundy] a native of Ky is the Gov't B S [blacksmith] among the Dr [Delaware] Indians. M. R. Walker a Quadroon Wy—— and G. I. Clark Secy is a native of Canada, and your humble servt another Quadroon and a native of Michigan. My colleagues, as you say, justly "are all the right kind of men, and eminently worthy of the distinguished positions assigned them by their fellow citizens" ——

In your application for an appointment in the judiciary by all means choose one in this Territory. It is in every respect superior to N—— in climate soil and indeed all the elements promotive of general thrift and prosperity. The other will, in climate prove, I am sure, too Labradorian for you. It is a sterile, cold and uninviting region when compared to this. Lying between the parells of 40 & 49°. This Territory will be the Cynosure of the enterprising emigrant and will fill up more rapidly than the other.

[No signature.]

GOVERNOR WALKER'S NOTES ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF NEBRASKA.

NOTES ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF NEBRASKA.¹

[In] The year 1852, public attention, especially in the West, was drawn to the occupation of those large tracts of land held by the United States for the use of such Indians as may still emigrate from the States East of the Mississippi, at that time vacant. And considering also the fact that, except the Six Nations of N. Y. there were no more Indian tribes to be removed to these parts; and considering also that these large bodies of surplus land must, if the Govt policy be adhered to, remain unoccupied in all time to come. Independently of this, another grave question presented itself furnishing matter for serious and sober reflection. A guarantee was made to all the Emigrating tribes that in the Country assigned them West, *no territorial government shall ever be formed over them, nor become subject to any State authority.*

These questions were discussed at public meetings, in private circles and in the public Journals with considerable earnestness. These discussions attracted the attention of the Interior Department and drew forth official intimations that the government could not allow any portion of that territory to be occupied or settled by white people; and that the president was authorized to employ, if necessary, the military force of the U. S. in removing from the Indian Country all persons found therein contrary to law.

But unfortunately for the government, it turned out that it was the Indians, not the indigenous, but the Emigrant Indians themselves especially the Wyandotts that warmly favored the occupation by white people of the vacant lands and ultimate organization of the territory. They foresaw that the pressure Westward and from the Pacific slope Eastward of emigration would ere long force the government to abandon its restrictive policy. The Wyandotts and such whites as were within their [tribe] took the initiatory step, by holding an election for a Delegate to Congress in the fall of 1852, and elected M^r A. G.² a gentleman every way qualified to represent this [Territory in Congress].

¹ This MS. is unsigned, but it is in Governor Walker's handwriting. I obtained it with the resolutions or "Constitution" of the Provisional Government.

² Abelard Guthrie.

The Missouri delegation in Congress were, with the exception of Col. Benton and Hon W. P. Hall, opposed to the measure, and nothing was accomplished, but an increased interest excited and public attention aroused to the importance of this novel measure inaugurated by two parties, in which the Indians and the ever restless and erratic whites coalesced and opposed the very policy intended for the protection of the former.

In the summer of 1853, a Territorial Convention was held pursuant to previous notice to be held at Wyandott. The Convention met on the 26th of July when the following proceedings took place: (See "Industrial Luminary" herewith sent)¹

A proclamation was issued in pursuance of the 10th Resolution ordering an election for a Delegate to the 33rd Congress on the 2nd Tuesday in Oct. and designating the precincts at which the polls should be opened.

A few days after the adjournment of this Convention another rather informally was called at Kickapoo, at which Mr Thomas Johnson was nominated as Candidate for Delegate. The latter then yielded to the wishes of his friends and became a Candidate in opposition to the regular nominee. The election was held accordingly. Upon canvassing the returns it was found that a third candidate was voted for in the Bellevue precinct, in the person of Hadley D. Johnston Esq who recd 358 votes.²

From information derived from that precinct it appeared that Mr Johnston was an actual resident of Iowa, and at that time a member of the Legislature of that State; and an additional circumstance tending to vitiate the election in this precinct, was that a large majority of the voters were actual residents of that State. The officers were compelled to reject these returns.³ Upon canvassing the returns it was found that Thomas Johnson of Shawnee had received a majority of all the votes cast and was declared duly elected. Many politicians and Editors of public Journals whose standard of political morals was of the straitest kind viewed these proceedings with decided aversion and regarded them as revolutionary &c mobocratic law

¹ These "Notes" were evidently intended for publication in some newspaper, most probably the *Ohio State Journal*. This is the rough draft of what the communication was when rewritten.

² This is the same number of votes given in Mr. Johnson's certificate of election.

³ See Mr. Johnson's statement in another part of this work.

defying, unprecedented, illegal; forgetting the several provisional govts of California, Oregon, New Mexico &c.¹

It is here worthy of remark that in each of the emigrant tribes of Indians elections were held and they voluntarily and freely participated in them; showing clearly that they anticipated and were prepared for the change in their political condition which they saw would soon be wrought out. As was the case with Mr G who was elected Delegate the year previous, Congress being averse to a departure from "the line of sav[f]e precedent", by admitting delegates from unorganized territories, refused to admit Mr Johnson to a seat in that body. The provisional government of Nebraska continued in existence till after the organization by Congress of the two Territories and the arrival of A. H. Reeder the first Governor of Kansas. Of all the remarkable events that transpired subsequently, "are they not written in the book of Chronicles" of Kansas Territory?

NEBRASKA TERRITORY.

[The document of which the following is a copy is in the handwriting of Governor Walker. The paper is not complete, it being only a portion of the first draft of an article for some periodical. It has no date.]

NEBRASKA TERRITORY.

The first movement looking to an organization of this Territory was made in 1845. Senator Douglas then Chairman on Territories reported a Bill for that purpose; but the measure not meeting with much favor with the Senate, was laid aside and but little more said about the measure till the summer of 1852, when a few daring and resolute spirits in the Wyandott nation determined upon making a demonstration in favor of its organization, by concerting measures for holding an election for a delegate to Congress. But a serious question at hand had to be solved: Who would go, if elected, and run the risk of having to pay his own expenses to, at and from Washington, as it was extremely doubtful whether the delegate so elected would be

¹ Especially the papers of the South, and many of the Democratic papers of the North.

admitted to a seat. Mr A. G. a man of talents and some experience in public life, having "done the State some service" in other responsible positions, offered his services & was duly elected amidst the opposition of Government officials, the military especially.

There being no existing provisional government in the Territory to give official evidence to Mr G. of his election, he took with him the Poll Books as prima facia evidence of his election.

As was feared, he was not admitted to a seat in the House, tho' his election was admitted, yet he did good service "on his own charges" in the character of a "Lobby member." As evidence of this it will be recollected that the Committee on Territories in the House reported a Bill for the organization, which finally passed the House by a vote of 98 to 43!

Upon the Senate, especially the Chairman of the Com. on Territories (Mr D.) rests the responsibility of its failure in that body. The metes and bounds of the Territory as fixed in the bill, are as follows: The 43 degree of North latitude on the Missouri river, thence running West to the base of the Rocky Mountains—thence South following the meanderings of said base to latitude 36° 30 minutes, thence East till it intersects the N. W. corner of Arkansas, thence following the Missouri State line North to the place of beginning.

The bill was so framed as not to violate any of the political or property rights secured to the Indians holding lands in the territory, secured to them by treaty stipulations. A clause in the first section of the Bill provides "that nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to impair the rights of person or property now pertaining to the Indians in said territory, or to include any territory which, by treaty with any Indian tribe, is not, without the consent of said tribe, to be included within the territorial limits or jurisdiction of any State or Territory"—The above clause was supposed to be amply sufficient to guard all the rights of the Indians and to preclude the possibility of any violation of treaty stipulations with the latter.—

STATEMENT OF THE LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE.

[The document of which the following is a copy is in the handwriting of Governor Walker. It is from the archives

of the Wyandot Nation, and is a record of the official views of the Legislative Committee, the highest tribunal of the government. It is a legal document, and was probably handed to the Council of Chiefs during a joint session of the two bodies. As all parties were present it is possible that it was not considered necessary to have the paper signed by the members of the Legislative Committee. While it is not dated, it is evident that it was written during the time when the Wyandots were working for the organization of a Territorial Government for Nebraska. And it would seem that this document conclusively shows that the Government of the Wyandot Nation was then taking part in this movement.

The paper was given to me by Hon. Allen Johnson, Jr., Head Chief of the Wyandot Nation in the Indian Territory.]

The Legislative Committee previous to adjournment deemed it necessary to make some formal and official expression of its views upon our Indian relations as they now exist, and upon our relation with the United States in the present aspect of affairs.

First, then, it is well known that for the last hundred years a league has existed between the following tribes, viz: Wyandott, Delaware, Chippewa, Ottawa, Pottawottomie, Shawnee and Miami. This League unanimously elected the Wyandott the Keeper of the Council fire, where all diplomatic and other important matters involving the interests of the several tribes composing this league were to be discussed. Whether in peace or War this league maintained a unity of mind and action in all important measures. On the happening of any important event interesting to them, it appears from past history, that the Keeper of the Council fire was the member whose duty it was to apprise the members by a confidential runner bearing the *official wampum*, of the nature of the information received.

In pursuance of this understanding mutually entered into, the tribes composing this Confederacy naturally looked to the Wyandott for all official information of importance to them. Thus the principles of

this compact were kept up till By the action of the U. S. Gov't the tribes composing this Confederacy removed from the North and East to the west of the Mississippi. This caused some derangement in our intercourse with each other—caused an interruption of the usual interchange of friendly messages. Thus matters continued till the autumn (Oct) of 1848, when the members of the league assembled for the first time in the West and demanded "*Where is the Council fire*"? The Keeper promptly responded: "When I rose from my seat in the East with my face to the West, I snatched the only fire brand yet burning in the Council fire and bro't it with me; and here my brethren I rekindle it in the West. Light the pipe and scour up my dish and Camp kettle again." At this first session West, all the former arrangements of the league were solemnly renewed and two other tribes joined us and agreed to incur the responsibilities and abide by the regulations and joint acts of the league, viz: the Kickapocs and Kansas. It is well known the Sacs and Foxes played an unmanly part on this occasion and we have had no explanation.¹ The Wyandott being thus formally re-appointed the Keeper of the Council fire in the West, the obligation still rests upon him to discharge faithfully those obligations he incurred when originally invested with this mark of distinction.

Second. Our relations with the U. S. Gov't. It would seem from present indications that the present Indian policy is about to undergo an important, and to us emigrant tribes, vital change. Heretofore the general policy has been to purchase the domain of the Red men little by little and confining him to narrower limits with the view, as the Gov't said, of compelling him by the extinction of game, to resort to agricultural and civilized pursuits. This not working well, or rather it was the excuse, the injurious and demoralizing effects of

¹ This incident is mentioned by Clarke in his "Traditional History of the Wyandotts," page 132.

"A group of Fox Indians were noticed to be rather reserved and distant at this general Council, and who knew of a certain dark bead belt then in the hands of the Wyandotts with the shape of a tomahawk of a red colour on it, indicating some contemplated warfare whenever it was exhibited in a general Council. They knew, too, of the hostile incursions their forefathers used to make against the Wyandotts and other tribes about Detroit, over a century ago; how they were chastised by them at different times, and that they never made peace with each other.

"The group of Fox Indians watched the Wyandotts with an eagle eye, and no sooner than they observed the crimson tomahawk exhibited than they were off to their homes on their ponies, followed by wolfish-looking dogs."

being surrounded by a dense white population being so palpable, induced the government again to change the whole policy to that of colonizing the Red race in a new country West, to be assigned them by the Gov't and to be theirs "as long as grass grows and water runs." Where they could have their choice of pursuits, either the chase or agricultural and where they and their descendants would be free from the trammels of State or territorial laws, and be governed by their own laws, usages and customs. And in order to this the government threw around the emigrant tribes its strong protecting arm. This change in its policy took place about twenty two years ago. The next and present apprehended change is that of purchasing of us emigrant tribes the lands assigned, or rather sold to us to be our perpetual home. This presents to us a new question. If we submissively fall into this new line of policy, what is to become of us? further west we can not go—nor indeed to any other point of the compass, as the Gov't has no more rich-soiled, timbered and watered territory on this continent to bestow upon the Red man. What are the emigrant tribes to do? In this exigency the Committee would respectfully suggest to the Executive Council the propriety of sending *the messenger with the Wampum* to the tribes composing the Confederacy and such other tribes as emigrated from the East as we may be upon friendly terms with, apprising them of this apprehended change with a view to a consultation upon the propriety of uncovering the great Council fire, and devising the measures necessary to be adopted in this new case.

LETTER FROM GOVERNOR WALKER TO SOME UNKNOWN PERSON IN OHIO.

WEST JERSEY,¹ NEBRASKA, Jan 19, '54.

DEAR SIR—

Your letter dated the 4th inst was rec'd yesterday, and although pretty well over run with similar letters, some yet unanswered, yet I

¹ Governor Walker bestowed the name "Jersey" upon the creek running through Kansas City, Kansas, into the Missouri River. He named his homestead "West Jersey," why, I do not know; his home in Ohio may have been "Jersey." Governor Walker's house stood on what are now lots 4, 5, 6 and 7, in block 4, Sunnyside Addition to Kansas City, Kansas. The grounds and garden enclosed with the house included the remainder of block 4, the south half of block 3, the north half of block 6, lots 1 to 25 inclusive in block 5, and all streets and alleys included in these bounds. His house had been the

feel bound to give precedence to enquiries from the "Buckeye State." I will endeavor to give you such information in regard to the character of this frontier and this Territory as I can command. My travels in the Territory have been chiefly through the Southern portion; therefore, cannot give you much from personal observation in regard to other parts but must rely upon information derived from other sources for a general description.

Then fancy me Chief Magistrate of this wild and untamed territory, seated upon a bleak boundless prairie, with a furious wind from the mountains whirling snow, leaves, grass &c in circling eddies round my head, with an icicle pendant from my proboscis, as long as a 10^d nail, with my saddle on my lap for a writing desk, pouring my warm breath into my pen to thaw the congealing ink—anon thrashing my arms round my body to quicken circulation in my chilled fingers, while my company, composed of Wyandotts Shawnees Delawares and a quadron Frenchman as Fort man, are attending to our animals. The devil and Phoenix bitters! how can I write in this fix? O here's a mitigant. *Antoine appor* [part of this sentence torn away at this point] *ici votre Boutielle de eau de vie et um cruche ausisitot*. Your good health, Sir. *Ahem, Tres bien. Taut mieux*. But stop. I forget myself. I am not on an exploring tour, taking notes of observation. Sure enough I'm in my own domicile, at my own comfortable fire side. Yes, I faix, there's M^{rs} W. seated cosily in her arm chair and the girls one reading the latest Novel (sorry to say it, but 'tis true) and the other gleaning political news from the National Intelligencer and your humble servant at the writing table. My negro domestic enters and announces "the Thermomaker 10° below Nero." But I'm wandering from the matter on hand—no more digressions episodes &c, but to the point. Nebraska Ter extends to the 43rd parallel of N. lattitude and running S. to the parallel of 36°

old Delaware pay-house, where the Delawares came to receive their annuities from the agents. Governor Walker improved it and built additions to it until it was two stories high and contained ten or twelve large rooms. The building and most of the additions were of logs, but it was weather-boarded, and was a comfortable, roomy, delightful old home. Nothing remains of it now except a few stones of one corner of the foundation. The heavy door which had a square hole cut in it, through which the agent passed out the money to the Delawares, was always retained in use by Governor Walker. It was a rough, rude piece of workmanship, and Mrs. Walker wished to replace it with a more respectable looking one, but the Governor would not suffer this to be done.

30'', bounded on the E. by Mo & Iowa and on the west by the spurs of the Rocky Mountains.

It is a rich champaign country: beautifully undulating and well watered & generally well supplied with stone and I have no doubt but time will develop large and rich pits of coal. The chief deficiency is the want of good building timber. The timbered lands are confined to the streams. These wending their ways to their points of debouchment are fringed with timber. There are exceptions to this rule. There are some high rolling ridges timbered with a somewhat stunted growth of Bur Oak & Hickory, but these are valueless except for fuel. These immense praries are doubtless produced by the annual conflagrations of the tall grasses, weeds and undergrowth of wild shrubbery, rendering it impossible for a young growth of timber to survive these fearful ravages produced by the brand of the wild and tame incendiary; as often by the latter as the former. This scarcity of timber will always be a drawback—indeed an insurmountable obstacle to a compact settlement. But there are to be found, as will be more abundantly proved, whenever a geological survey shall be made, all the elements provided by the god of nature, to supply these deficiencies, such as an abundance of stone for building houses and fences, added for the latter purpose Osage thorn, Stone coal for fuel. There is every variety of soil. The high rolling lands after a crop or two of corn yield fine wheat, Rye and Oats crops. The lower lands for corn, Hemp, Tobacco &c and the soil [is] inexhaustible. There is one important item that I cannot omit mentioning which operates seriously against the durability of the soil, especially in hilly or broken lands. There being the want of substantial clay or marl basis and the upper soil being [of] a light loamy character, the heavy rains peculiar to this country, sweep away, when tilled, the soil to the bottoms, rivers or ravines, presenting in a few years an unseemly sight of sterile knobs, fissures & gutters. This obj does not apply to the slightly undulating or level lands.

37TH CONGRESS,
2D SESSION.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

{ REPORT
No. 67.

ABELARD GUTHRIE.

[To accompany bill H. R. No. 381]

Mr. Loomis, from the Committee of Elections, made the following
REPORT.

April 3, 1862.—Ordered to be printed.

The Committee of Elections, to whom was referred the memorial of Abelard Guthrie, praying to be allowed mileage and per diem as delegate from Nebraska to the thirty-second Congress, have had the same under consideration and respectfully report:

On the second Tuesday of October, A. D. 1852, the people of Nebraska, (then an unorganized Territory,) desiring to secure a territorial government, elected the memorialist as their delegate to the thirty-second Congress.

In pursuance of this election he came to Washington, and on the 17th day of December, 1852, presented his memorial to the House of Representatives, asking to be admitted as a delegate. This memorial was duly referred, and a report was made thereon and ordered to be printed, but no further action was had upon it. But a bill was immediately introduced for the organization of a government for that Territory, which passed the House of Representatives on the 18th day of February, 1853, by a vote 98 yeas to 43 nays. The bill was sent to the Senate, and there received the approval of the Committee on Territories, but as the session terminated on the 4th of March following it failed to become a law, and the memorialist was never admitted as a delegate, nor was any compensation ever allowed him for coming and remaining here for the purposes aforesaid.

The memorial now under consideration asks for the usual per diem and mileage, as before allowed in similar cases. This claim has long been pending before Congress.

On the 19th of July, 1856, the Hon. Israel Washburn, as chairman of the Committee of Elections, made a report in favor of the claim, accompanied with a bill granting the memorialist mileage not

to exceed two thousand dollars, and his per diem of five dollars per day from the time of presenting his memorial at the 2d session, 32d Congress, to the close thereof, but no further action was had thereon.

Your committee find that several claims similar to the one now under consideration have received the sanction of both houses of Congress.

In 1850 Hugh N. Smith petitioned the House to admit him as delegate from New Mexico, and A. W. Babbitt made application to be admitted as delegate from Utah. To these applications it was objected, among other things, that the Territories which they claimed to represent were unorganized, and that their boundaries had never been defined; and, further, that these gentlemen were appointed by delegates to territorial conventions or assemblies, and not chosen by the people in their primary meetings. The decision of the House was adverse to the claimants, but Congress passed an act to pay them mileage and per diem.

These cases are similar in principle to that of the memorialist, or, if there be any difference, it is in favor of the latter, as he was designated or elected by the people themselves in their primary assemblies.

Your committee believe that it was important to have an organized government for Nebraska at the time the people of that Territory sent the memorialist here as their delegate.

In the years 1849 and 1850 it is estimated that more than one hundred thousand emigrants passed through that Territory on their way to California, Utah, New Mexico, and Oregon.

The memorialist came here in good faith and with good reason to believe that the Territory would be organized, and he admitted as a delegate. The vote of the House before mentioned recognized in a most emphatic manner the propriety of its organization, and must have made the memorialist feel confident that he would be admitted to his seat as a delegate before the close of the session.

Your committee, therefore, recommend the passage of the accompanying bill.

A.

To the House of Representatives of the United States now in session:

GENTLEMEN: Your memorialist begs leave to represent to your honorable body that he was elected by the people of Nebraska Territory

as their delegate to the second session of the 32d Congress; that he accepted the trust, came to Washington, presented his credentials and exerted his best abilities to serve his constituents, but was not admitted to a seat in the House, for the reason that there had been no Territorial government for Nebraska established, and therefore the election was unauthorized by law. A bill, however, was immediately introduced into the House for the organization of a government for Nebraska, and passed the House of Representatives, but was lost in the Senate.

It was confidently believed by the friends of the measure that the bill would pass the Senate, and that I would then be immediately admitted to a seat in the House as delegate, and this confidence continued up to the last day of the session, when it was too late, amidst the general press of business, to take the necessary steps to obtain an appropriation for my per diem and mileage; and since that time a long and painful illness has made it impossible for me to bring the matter to your notice. I am fully aware that there is no law authorizing payment in such cases, and therefore I throw myself upon the generosity of Congress, as did the delegates from Utah and New Mexico, who came here under similar circumstances, before governments were organized for those Territories, and were paid. And I respectfully ask to be treated with the same liberality.

Very respectfully,

ABELARD GUTHRIE.

Washington City, D. C., June 14, 1856.

B.

Personally appeared before me, Thomas J. Williams, a justice of the peace for the District of Columbia and county of Washington, Abelard Guthrie, who, being duly sworn, deposeth and saith that, in pursuance of public notice, an election was held in the Territory of Nebraska on the second Tuesday of October, 1852, for a delegate to represent the said Territory in the Congress of the United States, and that at the said election he received a majority of all the votes given, and was declared duly elected. That the evidences of his election, consisting of the poll-books and tally-lists of each precinct, or certified copies thereof, were handed, together with a memorial setting forth the

facts of said election and praying to be allowed a seat in Congress, to the Hon. Mr Phelps, of Missouri, to be presented to the House; and that Mr Phelps afterwards told him that he had presented them, which he believes to be the fact, for in subsequent conversations with the Hon. Mr Ashe, then chairman of the Committee of Elections, he alluded to them as being before his committee. The deponent further states that he has caused search to be made for these papers in the office of the Clerk of the House of Representatives, and they cannot be found.

Given under my hand and seal this 2nd day of July, 1856.

THOS. J. WILLIAMS, [L. S.]

Justice of the Peace.

C.

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., June 30, 1856.

SIR: I called upon Mr. Buck, who made a search for my papers, but they can nowhere be found. The following is an extract from the journal of the House of Representatives, second session of the thirty-second Congress:

“FRIDAY, December 17, 1852.

“By Mr Phelps: The petition of Abelard Guthrie, praying to be admitted to a seat in this House as a delegate from the Territory of Nebraska; which was referred to the Committee of Elections.”

This record does not state, as it should have done, that my credentials were with the memorial. The committee to whom they were referred did not, I believe, make a report, for the reason, as I stated in my former letter, that I desired it kept back until the bill organizing the Territory should have passed both houses.

I was in Washington a short time during the latter part of the winter of 1854, when I memorialized Congress for my pay and per diem, but left soon after, and no action was had upon my application. In the journal of the House of Representatives, first session thirty-third Congress, is the following entry:

“THURSDAY, February 23, 1854.

“By Mr Edgerton: The memorial of Abelard Guthrie, to be allowed mileage and per diem as delegate from Nebraska Territory.

Ordered that said petitions, letters and memorial be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary."

I think it quite probable that among these "said petitions, letter, and memorial" were the original evidences of my election presented by Mr Phelps on the 17th December, 1852. They were, however, referred to the wrong committee. I was told when I started home that they would, if opportunity offered, be reported back to the House and be referred to the Committee of Elections. This was probably never done, and yet they are not on file with the papers of the Judiciary Committee.

There was evidently culpable neglect in some quarter, but I do not know who was to blame. But I do not think it reasonable or right that I should lose my claim from this cause. The records of the House present facts enough, I think, to justify the hope that you will grant the relief I ask.

My credentials consisted of one of the poll-books and tally-list from each precinct, or certified copies thereof; I am not certain now which. These, under the circumstances, were thought to be the best evidences of election that I could present. They, and my memorial accompanying them, were, I believe, all the papers submitted to the House on the occasion of my asking a seat as a delegate from Nebraska.

I am, sir, very respectfully, yours,

ABELARD GUTHRIE.

Hon ISRAEL WASHBURN,

Chairman Committee of Elections.

P. S.—Enclosed herewith is an affidavit setting forth the facts of my election.

D.

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., June 26, 1856.

SIR: I desire to say a few words explanatory of the circumstances connected with my application for mileage and per diem as delegate to Congress from Nebraska Territory, showing the necessity of sending a delegate to Congress at the time I was elected, in doing which I will quote from a speech delivered in the House of Representatives on the 16th May, 1854, (see Appendix to Congressional Globe, p. 715,) by the Hon. S. Mayall, of Maine. Mr Mayall says:

"In accordance with the recommendations of the Secretary of War, Mr Douglas, of the House Committee on Territories, gave notice on the 11th December, 1844, of a bill, and the 17th of the same month introduced the same, (H. R. 444,) to establish the Territory of Nebraska, and it was referred to the Committee on Territories. Mr Aaron V. Brown, on the 7th of January, 1845, reported back an amendatory bill, and it was referred to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and no further action was had thereon.

"The next movement in favor of Nebraska was made by Mr Douglas, in the Senate, by the introduction of a bill, (No. 170,) which, on the 20th April, 1848, was made the order of the day for Monday, the 24th of the same month, but no further action was had thereon.

"In the Senate, December 4, 1848, Mr Douglas gave notice of another Nebraska bill, and also a bill for Minnesota and New Mexico; and on the 20th of the same month the Minnesota and Nebraska bills were referred to the Committee on Territories of that body, when another *opiate* was administered to Nebraska. Four years of dead silence on the part of Congress in relation to Nebraska now ensued.

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"In October, 1852, the people of Nebraska elected a delegate, (Mr Guthrie,) who came to this capital, and, as all know who were members of the last Congress, urged with great zeal the organization of a government for that Territory. A bill was reported, and on the 18th of February, 1853, it passed the House of Representatives, by a vote of 98 to 43. It went to the Senate, received the sanction of the Committee on Territories, but was never brought to vote, but on the morning of the 4th of March was consigned to its grave."

Thus it will be seen that *four years* had elapsed since the last abortive attempt to organize a government for Nebraska, and the people of that Territory had but little reason to believe their interests would be attended to until they sent a delegate to urge them upon the consideration of Congress. They had observed that this course had been pursued by the people of Oregon, of Utah, of New Mexico, and of Minnesota, with success.

Under these circumstances, and with these examples before them, the people of Nebraska held an election, and I was chosen delegate. At Fort Leavenworth, however, (where the largest body of citizens resided,) the officer in command of the post forbade an election. Sub-

sequently however, certain persons proposed holding another election, to overturn the first. This election was held at Fort Leavenworth, (the commanding officer having abandoned his opposition,) and resulted in a large majority for me—I think 54 to 16.

This second election I gave no attention to, knowing that it was contrary to all law and usage regulating popular elections; but my friends at the fort, (not soldiers,) having been prevented from voting at the first election, determined to remove all shadow of a right of my opponent to contest my claim to a seat in Congress, by giving me a very decided majority at this election also. But the judges never sent me the returns; nor would I have presented them had they done so, for the reason already given. I was now universally admitted to be the rightfully elected delegate, and met with no further opposition.

The number of votes given at my election was not large, for the reason I have already stated. Besides, the citizen population of the Territory was very small, and could not increase under the restrictions of the law of 1834, “regulating trade and intercourse among the Indians,” which, you will remember, formed the ground of opposition to the passage of the Nebraska bill, on the 18th of February, 1853, but which was satisfactorily answered by the friends of the bill on that occasion.

In addition to what I stated in my memorial, I will add, that, anxious to get my mileage and per diem, I went to Judge Douglas on the last night of the session, when the “civil and diplomatic bill” was before that body, and asked him if the appropriation could not be put on the bill. To which he replied, that if the House Territorial committee would recommend it, he would try to get it on, adding some reasons why it should come from the House. I immediately went to the chairman of that committee, Colonel Richardson, and stated the facts to him, and he and all the other members of the committee then in the House, (a majority of the whole,) signed the recommendation, and I took it to Judge Douglas, who showed it to the members of the Senate committee; but some of these objecting, on the ground that the appropriation should be made in the House, the judge thought it better to let it drop for the present; and nothing more was said about it.

I have spent much money in obtaining a government for Nebraska, and that, too, from the best motives, and though evil has grown out of it, both for myself and the country, it was not my desire it should

be so; and I think I am entitled to the same remuneration that other informal delegates received, and I ask nothing more, but would respectfully urge that, should your committee favor my application, the most speedy course will be pursued to enable me to get the money.

I am, sir, with great respect, yours,

ABELARD GUTHRIE.

HON. ISRAEL WASHBURN,

Chairman Committee of Elections.

E.

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., July 20, 1861.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Understanding your committee have doubts of the propriety and necessity of a government for Nebraska, (now Kansas,) at the time I came here as its delegate, I desire to say a few words on the subject. I need not remind you that this Territory lies immediately west and south of the State of Missouri, but it may be well to call your attention to the fact that the vast emigration to California, Oregon, Utah, and New Mexico had to pass through its whole length. At that time the usual landing for emigrants starting from the states by water was at Kansas City, about one mile from the northeast corner of Nebraska, (Kansas,) and, although many went across the States by land, they all directed their course to this point or neighborhood. Here the overland journey commenced, and the sudden change from the comforts of civilized life to the exposures of such a journey produced much sickness which, from the fatigues of travel and the want of care, generally ended in death, for the country was uninhabited, except very sparsely, by Indians, and the journey of more than two thousand miles, to be performed by ox teams before the fall of the early mountain snows, admonished the emigrants of the dangers of delays, even to nurse their sick. This great thoroughfare was strewn with their graves. Only those familiar with the hardships and dangers of such a journey can form a just conception of the embarrassments and fatal consequences of this condition of things. By the organization of this Territory it was opened to settlement, and soon the hospitable door of the pioneer was opened along the route for a distance of two hundred miles, where the invalid could enter and be cared for. Had the Territory been organized several years earlier, as

it should have been, I think I may safely say thousands of human lives would have been saved and a vast amount of human suffering prevented. For you will remember that during the years 1849 and 1850 more than one hundred thousand emigrants crossed this Territory on their way to California, Utah, Oregon, and New Mexico, and yet not one word was said in Congress about establishing a government for it or even opening it to settlement. Was not this silence significant? Under such circumstances, is it reasonable to urge that it was not time to move in this matter? Has there, in the history of this country, been a more urgent case of the kind? Congress was evidently impressed with its importance; for in the House the bill for the organization, after a violent but brief struggle, passed by a vote of nearly two to one, and even in the Senate there was an ascertained majority in its favor. It may not be improper here to state, that of the southern members who voted for the measure, I think less than half a dozen were returned to Congress.

Allow me also, if you please, to submit the following propositions:

If your committee have any sufficient evidence, or can obtain any, that it was the intention of the party then in power, or any other party, to organize this Territory within any reasonable or definite period, I will abandon my claim.

If the committee have any sufficient evidence, or can procure any, that there was any other course as likely to succeed in securing an organization as that of sending to Congress a man acquainted with the condition, wants, soil, climate, and resources of the Territory, I will give up my claim.

If the committee have any sufficient evidence, or can get any, that it was not the design of the slave power to secure this Territory, by quiet and stealthy legislation and colonization, for the benefit of its favorite institution, I will abandon my claim. But here I wish you to examine the law of 30th June, 1834, annexing this Territory to the State of Missouri for judicial purposes; and the law of 1836, annexing to the same State forever and for all purposes the very large and fertile portion of this Territory lying between the Iowa State line and the Missouri river, cutting us off entirely from contiguous free Territory, the effects of which were disastrously felt during our civil troubles, and to the present day; and also to the several abortive attempts of the late Mr Douglas to organize this Territory.

If the committee have any sufficient evidence, or can obtain any, that this Territory would not eventually have been received into the Union as a slave State under the skillful management and well matured plans of southern statesmen and their northern friends, I will abandon my claim.

If the committee have any evidence, or can get any, that my movement for a government for Nebraska did not frustrate this design, I will abandon my claim.

If your committee have any sufficient evidence, or can obtain any, that the republican party would have been in existence but for this very act of mine in forcing upon the consideration of Congress the policy of erecting a territorial government over this magnificent region, (which the slave power had already practically grasped, and was guarding with jealous care,) I will abandon all claim to *per diem* and mileage.

In this connection it is proper I should state that I am not a candidate for any office whatever, as my senators and representatives will bear me witness. But when I get the money I ask at your hands, and to which I think myself justly, though not legally, entitled, I will return to the cultivation of my grapes and gooseberries.

I will only add that I am fully aware of the apparent extravagance of the pretensions I have here put forth, but I am also fully persuaded of their entire justice, and that the humbleness of the instrument employed is the weightiest objection that can be urged against them.

ABELARD GUTHRIE.

HON. HENRY L. DAWES,

Chairman Committee of Elections, U. S. House of Representatives.

LETTER FROM ABELARD GUTHRIE TO GOVERNOR WALKER.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, December 1st 1852.

William Walker, Esq.

DEAR SIR,

Having a little leisure I drop you a line to tell you how I am getting along. Thus far I have traveled faster than I expected and if I had felt well enough I could have taken the cars this morning and have arrived in Washington City tomorrow night—such are the wonderful facilities for travelling from this point eastward. From St. Louis I travelled in company with Senators Geyer and Atchison of

Mo. and Representatives Richardson and Bissil of Ills. I am sorry to say our Missouri Senators are by no means favorable to our Territorial projects. The slavery question is the cause of this opposition. I regret that it should interfere—it ought not. Mr. Atchison thinks the slaves in Nebraska¹ are already free by the operation of the Missouri Compromise Act, and asks a repeal of that act before any thing shall be done for Nebraska; this would put us back till doomsday for no Congress as our Government now stands will ever repeal that act.² But for myself I do not consider it binding upon the people in moulding their State institutions. However since the South take a different view of it we must fight it out. I foresee the struggle will be a fierce one but it will be short and therefore not dangerous. I did not expect to accomplish this object without trouble; and I feel prepared for it. One incentive to determined perseverance is the fact that I beat Banow at his own election, so Mr. Atchison informs me. I shall certainly endeavor to merit the good opinion my friends have formed of me. I am full of hope and confidence as I have been from the start. I called to see Col. Benton but he had gone to Washington, this is fortunate for he is our friend and can do us great service. *The measure will succeed!* short as the time is, and with an opposition where we ought to have support. I think you, Garret, Matthew and Isaiah Walker should locate your sections very soon,³ for after the Territorial organization I apprehend they will not be recognized—there will be no land set apart for Indian purposes as now. I will tell you in confidence that no treaty with the Wyandots can be confirmed until the Territory be organized. You need not tell this to any one because the folks in that country are so jealous of me that they would attribute the declaration to unfriendly feeling when God knows that I have been but too warmly their friend and still am. I want you to write to me soon and often. I shall be in Washington about Sunday. My respects to Mrs. Walker.

Very respectfully

Your Obedient Servant.

ABELARD GUTHRIE

¹ Governor Walker, Matthew R. Walker, Francis A. Hicks, the Garretts, and other Wyandots owned slaves. There may have been slaves held in other emigrant tribes, but I do not know whether there were or not.

² How he was mistaken! In less than three years from that time Congress repealed the Missouri Compromise.

³ This refers to land guaranteed to many individuals of the Wyandot Nation by the treaty by which they ceded their lands in Ohio.

LETTER FROM ABELARD GUTHRIE TO GOVERNOR WALKER.

WASHINGTON CITY 9th Dec. 1852.

Wm. Walker, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR, Although I have but little to communicate I feel very much like trying to say something if only to drive away the blues. There is no business that tries a man's patience and good nature so much as trying to do business with men who feel that their self interests are not intimately connected with your projects. I have ascertained almost to a certainty that I shall not get my seat. But that is a small matter. I never expected it and am not disappointed, but my faith is still strong that much will be effected. Mr Hall has proposed a Bill organizing one¹ Territory, he has given it the name of *Platte* which I don't like but don't care much about the name though I shall try to have the old name retained. His bill has not yet been introduced but it is already and I think will be presented next week; if not another will be introduced by the Committee on Territories. The Chairman of that Committee has given me assurances to that effect. Mr Hall's bill says nothing about slavery but leaves untouched the Missouri Compromise. The Territory it is pretty confidently believed will be free. Another measure highly beneficial to our interests will be the appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars to enable the President to negotiate with the different tribes for their surplus lands and other purposes. You will therefore have Commissioners authorized to treat early in the spring. This is important and you may regard it as a "fixed fact." I forgot to state to you the boundaries prescribed for our Territory by Mr Hall's bill; they are these: On the South thirty sixth degree and thirty minutes on the north the forty third degree on the west by the summit of the rocky mountains east by Missouri these are ample boundaries and just what we want.

I have paid so little attention to politics since I came here that I am entirely in the dark about the distribution of offices after the fourth of March and indeed it is [a] thing I care d——d little about. Nebraska and its interests are the all absorbing topics with me. I am already housed. I wish you would write to me very soon and I

¹ There had been discussion at this early date of organizing two or more Territories from the "Indian Country" or "Indian Territory."

would be glad if you would take a little pains to let [me] hear how my family are and how they are getting along.¹

I shall write to you presently again and may then try to entertain you with a little gossip.

My best respects to M^{rs} Walker

Believe me

I am truly your friend

ABELARD GUTHRIE.

I arrived here the day before the opening of the session being eleven days after leaving home.² The weather is mild as June. How is it in Wyandot?

A. G.

ABELARD GUTHRIE'S ADDRESS.

(Wyandotte Gazette, Oct. 4, 1862.)

The following is an extract from an Address to the voters of the Congressional District. He was at that time an Independent candidate for Congress. The whole address is printed in the *Gazette*; the following is the only portion of it which has any reference to historical matters:

"Eighteen years ago I became a resident of what is now the State of Kansas. Ten years ago 'solitary and alone' I proposed to the people of the then Territory to make an effort to secure a Territorial Government.³ This was the first act in that great national drama in which the whole American people are now actors, and the whole civilized world intensely interested spectators.

"The Republican party owes its existence to this movement. My proposition met with much opposition from Government officials and others. One of them, Col. Fauntleroy,⁴ commanding officer at Fort Leavenworth (and now I believe of the rebel army) threatened to arrest me if I should attempt to hold the election. However an elec-

¹ Mr. Guthrie seems always to have been devoted to his family. His wife was a very intelligent and spirited woman.

² Rapid traveling for those times.

³ This statement was framed to influence votes at the time. I think the expression "solitary and alone" can scarcely be accepted as describing the inception of the movement.

⁴ T. T. Fauntleroy, Colonel of First Dragoons. Wilder's Annals of Kansas, 30.

tion for Delegate to represent the Territory in Congress was held on the 2nd Tuesday of October, 1852, and I was chosen Delegate. We christened our new Territory "Nebraska," for as yet it had no legal name.¹ I proceeded to Washington and had my petition and evidence of the election presented to Congress, and virtually succeeded in my mission by getting a bill for organization passed by the House of Representatives, and a favorable report from the Committee on Territories of the Senate.² But the opposition to the measure had been very violent and obstinate throughout, and the organization was not perfected until the next session of Congress.

"The South had already taken possession of this territory, had planted its favorite institution within it, and believed itself secure in its stolen acquisition. Kansas (then Nebraska) was the arbiter of the destinies of the Republic. This was well understood by the South. Hence the desperate struggle so familiar to us all to secure it. Had she succeeded, the slave power would have been omnipotent, for the Pacific States were already strongly imbued with the Southern sentiment, and Kansas was the only link needed to perfect the chain which would unite those regions to a common destiny. I am assuming nothing more than the facts will warrant, when I say that my agency in calling public attention to this Territory, and impressing the claims upon the consideration of Congress, defeated the crafty and ambitious designs of the slave power, and opened this beautiful and fertile country to free men and free labor.³ Kansas owes her civil existence to my efforts in her behalf. I have never before appealed to her people for any acknowledgment of the services I have rendered. But the present seems a fitting-opportunity to do so. . . .

"ABELARD GUTHRIE.

"Quindaro, Kansas 8th Sept. 1862."

THE ORGANIZATION OF KANSAS AND NEBRASKA.

(Copied from N. Y. Tribune, Aug. 9, 1856.)

To the editor of the New York Tribune.

SIR: In your remarks on the vote on Governor Reeder's claims to a seat in the House of Representatives as delegate from Kansas, you

¹ "Nebraska" had been proposed as the name, in the Douglas bills for organizing the Territory. It is from the Pawnee word Ne-brath-ka—shallow river.

² It was defeated in the Senate, March 3, 1853.

³ This is a good statement of the facts.

say, "Cases are frequent of the election of such delegates in the most informal and unauthorized manner. We are confident the first delegate from Kansas, (then called Nebraska), the Rev. Thomas Johnson, was so elected." This is a mistake, but one I should pass unnoticed, were it not for the injustice it does myself.

I was the first delegate elected to Congress "from Kansas (then called Nebraska)." I was elected by a spontaneous movement of the people,¹ and I came to Washington in accordance with their expressed will, presented my evidences of election, and, though not admitted to a seat in the House, I pressed the interests of my Territory upon the consideration of Congress with such success that a bill for its organization passed the House of Representatives by a large majority, and would have passed the Senate had it been brought to a vote at that session; but unfortunately for the country and myself, this was not done.²

I was elected for the second session of the 32nd Congress. [Met Dec. 6, 1852] In the autumn of the succeeding year, 1853, a convention of the people of the Territory assembled at Wyandotte, and established a provisional government—a measure first suggested and the plan proposed by myself. At this convention I was nominated for re-election. But a portion of the convention voted and another convention was called at which Mr Thomas Johnson was nominated as my competitor. The Chief of the Indian Bureau at Washington sided, both by money and personal influence, with my opponent. This I can prove. The repeal of the Missouri compromise was now first agitated, and it was thought important to success that the Territory should be represented by one favorable to that measure. Hence the interference. And as all the Indian agents were under the control of the Government, they obtained a very large Indian vote—persons who were not citizens of the United States, nor willing to become such, and who voted against me, because these agents told them "if they did not do so I would be elected and bring them under the white man's laws." But a majority of actual citizens voted for me, yet the certificate of election was given to my competitor by the provisional governor. I contested the election, but the committee on elections, to

¹ This is more in accordance with the facts than his expression "solitary and alone."

² Mr. Guthrie seems to have forgotten, or never to have known, that the Senate voted on his bill.

whom the subject was referred, never came to any decision thereon. Mr Johnson obtained lucrative employment in the Indian Department, and through the instrumentality of Indian treaties made himself rich, and I was taken sick and have been on the verge of the grave most of the time since.

It was not the policy of the pro-slavery party to have the country north of 36°, 30 minutes, known as Nebraska, opened for settlement at all; and for that reason it was set apart for Indian colonization, and its settlement by white men was forbidden by law under heavy penalties. The few whites there were there by sufferance and by license. But circumstances, which it is not necessary for me here to relate, impelled me to urge upon the people of the Territory the necessity of a territorial organization. I met with many difficulties, and on one occasion was threatened with imprisonment by the commanding officer of one of the military posts in the Territory, for my attempt at "revolution," as he called it.

But to give a history of my early struggles in behalf of Nebraska, then including Kansas, would take more time than I have inclination to spare. Yet I can say, without fear of refutation, that but for my efforts there would not be either Kansas or Nebraska open to the settlement of the white man. I have sacrificed much money and more time than any other living man in the cause of Kansas, and have never received one cent in return—not even the usual mileage and per diem hitherto paid to informal delegates. Then do not, I beg of you, deprive me of the honor to which I am entitled. I have paid dearly enough for it, and think I should have full credit for what I have done. In your almanac of the current year you have done me similar injustice, and I trust you will make the correction in both cases.

In regard to Gov. Reeder, I entirely agree with you. He ought to have been admitted, and I so urged whenever I had a Congressman's ear, without reference to the man, I mean Reeder, who to tell the truth, is very far from being without sin, although, had he even done his duty as Governor of Kansas, the present condition of affairs could hardly have been averted—it was a foregone conclusion.

Yours respectfully,

(Signed)

ABELARD GUTHRIE.

Washington, D. C., Aug. 6, 1856.

ABELARD GUTHRIE—THOMAS JOHNSON—DELEGATE TO CONGRESS—KANSAS TERRITORY.

(From Wilder's Annals, under date of July 28, 1853.)

In 1855, a correspondent to the *Chicago Press*, made the statement that a convention was held at Wyandotte July 28, 1853, a territorial government organized, and a delegate to Congress nominated. Abelard Guthrie was put forward by a friend of Thomas H. Benton, and Rev. Thomas Johnson by the friends of D. R. Atchison. Guthrie received the nomination. Late in the fall, Thomas Johnson was brought out as a candidate, and was elected by Indian votes. He went to Washington, but the Territory was not organized, and he was not received as a delegate. The *Washington Union* spoke of him as "The Rev. Thomas Johnson, a noble specimen of a western man." In the *New York Tribune* of August 9, 1856, Mr Guthrie gives his account of this "provisional government."

HADLEY D. JOHNSON'S STATEMENT.

(Excerpt from a paper read before the meeting of the Nebraska State Historical Society, January 11, 1887, by Hon. Hadley D. Johnson. Taken from the Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society, Vol. 2, page 85 and following.)

"As early as 1848, the subject of the organization of a new territory west of the Missouri river was mentioned, and in congress I think a bill was introduced in that year, but did not become a law, and in 1852 the subject having been long discussed, a bill was introduced, but again without result. In 1852, however, the railroad question having been agitated more generally during the preceding year, during the session of 1852-3, a bill was reported to congress providing for the organization of the Territory of Nebraska, within the boundaries, substantially I believe, now embraced in the states of Kansas and Nebraska. Prior to this, however, some of the citizens of western Missouri, and a few persons residing or staying temporarily in the Indian country west of the Missouri river, took steps to hold an informal election of a delegate who should attend the coming session of congress and urge the passage of the territorial bill. This election, though not sanctioned by any law, and informal, was ordered to be

held by a meeting of a number of persons held in the Indian country south of the Platte river, who fixed a day on which the election was to be held, and designated certain places at which votes would be received. Among the places named, appeared Bellevue or Traders' Point. A newspaper printed somewhere in Missouri, containing a notice of this election, accidentally came into my possession a few days prior to the date fixed for the election. On reading this announcement, I immediately communicated the news to prominent citizens of Council Bluffs, and it was at once decided that Iowa should compete for the empty honors connected with the delegateship. An election at Sarpy's was determined on; arrangements made with the owners of the ferry-boat at that point to transport the *impromptu* emigrants to their new homes, and they were accordingly landed on the west shore of the Missouri river a few hundred yards above Sarpy's trading house, where, on the day appointed, an election was held, the result of which may be learned from the original certificate hereto annexed, a copy of which was sent to the Honorable Bernhart Henn, the member of the house of representatives from Iowa, by him submitted to the house, and referred to the committee on elections, but for reasons obvious to the reader of the proceedings of congress immediately following, no report was ever made by that committee in the case.¹

"I may remark here that I consented with much reluctance to the use of my name in this connection, and for several reasons: I was poor and could not well afford to neglect my business and spend a winter at Washington; the expenses of the trip I knew would be a heavy drain upon my limited exchequer; besides I had so lately neglected my private affairs by my service at Iowa City. However, I

¹ BELVIEW, NEBRASKA TERRITORY, Oct. 11, 1853.

Be it known that at in pursuance of Resolutions heretofore adopted an election was held at this place on this the Eleventh day of October 1853 being the second Tuesday in said month for delegate to Congress for the Territory of Nebraska at which the undersigned were duly appointed Judges and Clerks.

And we do hereby certify that the number of votes cast at said election was three Hundred fifty-eight Votes of which Hadley D. Johnson received Three Hundred fifty-eight votes.

MARSHALL FINLEY	
R. P. SNOW	
MUNSON H. CLARK	<i>Judges</i>
FRANKLIN HALL	
JEFFERSON P. CASSADY	<i>Clerks</i>

finally yielded to the earnest request of a number of my personal friends, who were also ardent friends of the new scheme, and consented to the use of my name, at the same time pledging my word that I would proceed to Washington if chosen and do the best I could to advance the cause we had in hand. In addition to the ballots cast for me for delegate at this election, the Rev. William Hamilton received 304 votes for provisional Governor; Dr. Monson H. Clark received 295 for Secretary, and H. P. Downs 283 for Treasurer.

"These proceedings at Sarpy's landing were followed by various public meetings in Iowa, (and also in Missouri) at which resolutions were adopted, urging the organization of Nebraska territory. Amongst others, meetings were held at Council Bluffs, St. Mary's, Glenwood, and Sidney, at which the actions at Sarpy's were endorsed. Earnest and eloquent speeches were made by such leading citizens as Hon. W. C. Means and Judge Snyder of Page county, Judge Greenwood, Hiram P. Bennett, Wm. McEwen, Col. J. L. Sharp, Hon. A. A. Bradford, L. Lingenfelter, C. W. McKissick, Hon. Benjamin Rector, Charles W. Pierce, Dan. H. Solomon, — Downs, I. M. Dews, George Hepner, Wm. G. English, Geo. P. Stiles, Marshal Turley, Dr. M. H. Clark, and others.

"In the month of November, Council Bluffs was visited by Hon. Augustus C. Dodge, Col. Samuel H. Curtis, and other distinguished citizens of other states, who attended and addressed meetings of the people of the town, warmly advocating the construction of our contemplated railroads, and the organization of Nebraska territory. In its issue of December 14, 1853, the Council Bluffs *Bugle* announced that 'H. D. Johnson, delegate elect from Nebraska, passed through our place on his way to Washington last week.'

"In compliance with my agreement, I set about making arrangements to visit the national capital, which, as you may suppose, was not easily accomplished. Before starting, however, a number of our citizens who took such a deep interest in the organization of a territory west of Iowa, had on due thought and consultation agreed upon a plan which I had formed, which was the organization of two territories west of the Missouri river, instead of one as had heretofore been contemplated, and I had traced on a map hanging in the office of Johnson & Cassady a line which I hoped would be the southern boundary of Nebraska, which it finally did become, and so continues to the present time.

"In starting out upon this second pilgrimage, I again faced the dreary desolate prairies of the then sparsely settled Iowa, but not as a year before, solitary and alone. B. R. Pegram, then a young and enterprising merchant of Council Bluffs, being about to visit St. Louis, it was agreed that we should travel in company to Keokuk, he with a horse and buggy, I with a horse and saddle. The trip was accomplished in safety, and on arriving at Keokuk, we took a steamer for St. Louis, shipping the horses and buggy.

"On arriving at St. Louis, I tried in vain to sell my horse for a satisfactory price, and leaving him with a friend to be sold afterwards, I took a steamer bound for Cincinnati, whence I boarded a railroad train for Washington. (I remark in parenthesis that my horse was not sold, but subsequently died, to my great grief and considerable loss.)

"On my arrival at Washington (early in January, 1854,) I found that a bill had already been introduced in the senate, and I think referred to the committee on territories, of which the Hon. Stephen A. Douglas was chairman. This bill provided for the organization of the territory of Nebraska, including what is now Kansas and Nebraska, or substantially so. I also found, seated at a desk, in the House of Representatives, a portly, dignified, elderly gentleman, who was introduced to me as the Reverend Thomas Johnson. He was an old Virginian; a slave holder, and a Methodist preacher. This gentleman had also been a candidate for delegate at the informal election, and was credited with having received 337 votes. He had preceded me to Washington, and together with his friends, ignoring our Sarpy election, had, through some influence *sub rosa*, been installed in a seat at a desk aforesaid, where being duly served with stationery, etc., he seemed to be a member of the house.

"Previous to this time, in one or two instances, persons visiting Washington, as representatives of the settlers in unorganized territory, and seeking admission as legal territories, had been recognized unofficially, and after admission had been paid the usual per diem allowance as well as mileage, and in the present case I think my namesake had looked for such a result in his own case, but for my part I had no such expectation.

"On being introduced to Mr Johnson, who seemed somewhat stiff and reserved, I alluded to the manner of my appointment to the pres-

ent mission, which, like his own, was without legal sanction, but was for a purpose; told him there was no occasion for a contest between us for a seat to which neither of us had a claim; that I came there to suggest and work for the organization of two territories instead of one; that if he saw proper to second my efforts, I believed that we could succeed in the objects for which we each had come.

"After this explanation the old gentleman thawed out a little, and we consulted together upon the common subject.

"Hon. A. C. Dodge, senator from Iowa, who had from the first been an ardent friend and advocate of my plan, introduced me to Judge Douglas, to whom I unfolded my plan, and asked him to adopt it, which, after mature consideration, he decided to do, and he agreed that, as chairman of the committee on territories, he would report a substitute for the pending bill, which he afterwards did do, and this substitute became the celebrated 'Nebraska Bill,' and provided, as you know, for the organization of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska.

"The Hon. Bernhart Henn, at that time the only member of the house from Iowa, who also was my friend and warmly advocated our territorial scheme, finding that the Rev. Thomas Johnson was seated in the house and posing as a member and not wishing to see him more honorably seated than myself, interceded, I presume with one of the doorkeepers, who admitted me into the house and seated me at a desk beside my friend, the minister, who it afterwards appeared was, like myself, surreptitiously admitted to the seat occupied by him, unknown to the speaker, or perhaps to the chief doorkeeper.

"The fates decreed, however, that we were not to hold our seats a great while, for one day the principal doorkeeper approached me as I sat in my seat, and politely inquired who I was, and by what right I occupied the seat; and being by me answered according to the facts, he informed me that as complaint had been made to the speaker, he was under the necessity of respectfully asking me to vacate the seat, as such was the order of the speaker. I replied to him, that of course I would do so, but, I added, as my neighbor on the left occupied his seat by a right similar to my own, I felt it to be my privilege to enquire why I should be ousted while he was permitted to remain. On this the doorkeeper turned to Mr Johnson, who corroborated my statement, whereupon the 'two Johnsons,' as we were called, were incontinently bounced and relegated to the galleries.

"I never learned, nor did I care to know, whether I was removed at the instance of the friends of Mr Johnson, or whether a Mr Guthrie, who had also been a candidate for delegate, had fired a shot at his adversary, the Rev. Thomas. If the latter was the case, in firing he hit two birds. I did not feel hurt by this event, but believe that the dignity of the other Johnson was seriously touched, and himself mortified.

"I ought perhaps to mention the fact, that in our negotiations as to the dividing line between Kansas and Nebraska, a good deal of trouble was encountered, Mr Johnson and his Missouri friends being very anxious that the Platte river should constitute the line, which obviously would not suit the people of Iowa, especially as I believe it was a plan of the American Fur Company to colonize the Indians north of the Platte river. As this plan did not meet with the approbation of my friends or myself, I firmly resolved that this line should not be adopted. Judge Douglas was kind enough to leave that question to me, and I offered to Mr Johnson the choice of two lines, first, the present line, or second, an imaginary line traversing that divide between the Platte and the Kaw. After considerable parleying and Mr Johnson not being willing to accept either line, I finally offered the two alternatives—the fortieth degree of north latitude, or the defeat of the whole bill, for that session at least. After consulting with his friends, I presume, Mr Johnson very reluctantly consented to the fortieth degree as the dividing line between the two territories, whereupon Judge Douglas prepared and introduced the substitute in a report as chairman of the committee on territories, and immediately, probably the hardest war of words known in American history commenced."

HIGHWAY TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, DECEMBER 16, 1850.

Agreeably to notice, Mr. BENTON asked leave to bring in a bill for the location and construction of a great central national highway from St. Louis, on the Mississippi, to the Bay of San Francisco, on the Pacific ocean; and said that, not being of the committee to which the consideration of the bill might be referred, he took occasion to explain its leading features before it was referred, so that its object

might the better be understood in the committee. It conforms, he said, to all the ideas of a *national* highway.

First centrality. I deem this a cardinal idea in every conception of a national road; and my bill conforms to it. It is central under all aspects. It is to begin and to end between the parallels 38° and 39° of north latitude, and, with slight deflections, to follow these latitudes from the Mississippi to the Pacific. These are the middle latitudes of the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific. They cover the central parts of the Atlantic States, the centre of the valley of the Mississippi, cut the centre of all the territory west of the Mississippi, and strike the Pacific coast both at the central point of our possessions, and that of the whole North American coast. Beginning and ending between these latitudes, and following, with little variation, the route which the bill proposes fulfills with rigorous exactitude the essential condition to every national highway—that of centrality.

Secondly. It is to be national in its form and use, consisting not of a single road adapted to a single kind of transportation, but of a system of roads adapted to all kinds of traveling, and of all kinds of carrying, free from monopoly and private interests, and free from tolls. It proposes a railroad and a common road, to be begun at once, and the common road finished next summer; with such other roads, either macadamized, plank, or additional tracks of railroad; and a margin for lines of magnetic telegraphs, all running parallel to each other, and at sufficient distances apart to avoid interference, and yet near enough together to admit of easy transition from one to the other. This fulfills another requisite of nationality; for a nation must contain people of all conditions, rich and poor; and of all tastes and tempers, and addicted to all the modes of traveling. Some, to whom time is everything and money nothing, and who demand rapidity, without regard to cost. Others, to whom money is an object, and time a subordinate consideration, and who want a cheap conveyance, no matter how slow. Others, again, who may choose to carry themselves, going on a horse, or in a vehicle, or on foot. All these will be accommodated, and without crowding or jostling; a mile wide for the whole, and an ample track for each, gives room for all.

Thirdly. Accommodation to the different parts of a nation is another requisite of nationality. This projected highway fulfills that condition. It accommodates all the populations west of the Missis-

issippi. Its straight line would accommodate California and Utah, and the Territories hereafter to be formed on the Kansas and Arkansas. A short branch at or near Bent's Fort would lead to Santa Fe; another branch would lead to the Mormon settlements on the Great Salt Lake, if the main way does not pass it; and a branch, still lower down in the Great Basin, would lead to Oregon. Thus, a straight line, and two or three branches, will accommodate all our populations west of the Mississippi—California, Oregon, New Mexico, and Utah—and also the valuable Territories which may soon be formed on the Kansas and Arkansas.

Fourthly. Nationality requires the work to be done by the National Government, and owned by it when it is done: and so the bill provides. The construction and the jurisdiction of the highway are both to be in the hands of the General Government; and these are the hands in which every public and national consideration would require them to be. The means are to come from the public resources; and, what amounts to a particular propriety in this case, they are to come from the places where the roads are to go; they are to come from beyond the Mississippi—from beyond the frontier of Missouri—so as to leave untouched all the present sources of revenue, now needed for the payment of the principal and interest of the new national debt. The means proposed in my bill are: 1. A strip of land from the frontiers of Missouri to the Bay of San Francisco, one hundred miles wide and sixteen hundred long, for the main highway. 2. A strip fifty miles wide and about two hundred long, from a point on the main road, on the upper Arkansas, to Santa Fe, for the New Mexican branch. 3. A strip fifty miles wide and about five hundred long from some point on the main highway in the great basin to the mouth of the Columbia, for the Oregon branch. 4. The income from the customs and the sales of the public lands in California, Oregon, New Mexico, and Utah, over and above the expenditures in those places. 5. Loans in anticipation of these resources, founded upon their hypothecation.

In these strips, a breadth of one mile wide is to be reserved for the main, leading highway in the reservation of one hundred miles wide; and one thousand feet each is to be reserved for the branch roads in the reservations of fifty miles wide.

These are the resources for constructing this great national highway

—all of them national—all to be derived from the new countries to which the highways are to go—and amply sufficient in my opinion for the speedy accomplishment of the work. The lands set apart in the three slips will be about one hundred and fifty millions of acres, or the one tenth part of the public lands belonging to the Federal Government; in which, after deducting for the tracts of the highways, and for donations to first settlers, and for private claims, and gold mines, and for that which may be unfit for sale, it is probable that one third, or fifty millions of acres, may be made available at the present minimum price for constructing the roads. That would be about sixty millions of dollars. The income from the customs would be considerable and immediate. San Francisco alone would probably yield \$2,000,000 the ensuing fiscal year; and increase forever. The public lands to be sold in California and the three Territories, after all deductions for liberal donations to first settlers, will still be large, amounting in a few years to some millions of dollars per annum. The proceeds of the whole—the reserved slips, the custom-house revenue, and the income from the land sales—will soon be eight or ten millions per annum; which, with loans in anticipation of these avails, will yield enough to have the system of roads commenced at all points—both ends and the middle, and all along—at the same time; and with men enough at work upon every section to finish the whole in as short a time as any one section of it could be finished.

These are the leading features of the bill, every one fulfilling the condition of nationality, and preserving to this highway the exalted, beneficent, and disinterested character of a public work. No tolls, or local jurisdictions, or private interests to debase or injure it; none such should ever be allowed to degrade the character, impede the use, or diminish the utility of such a work.

Practicability, and upon the parallels indicated, is the only question; and that the concurrent voice of experienced men enables me to answer. The men of the mountains—the men who have spent their fifteen, twenty, or thirty years in the region of the Rocky Mountains, and in the regions beyond—they answer the question, and say that the loaded wagon can now go upon that route, with a little assistance at a few points—some axes and pickaxes—to remove some obstructions. These men say there is a way for a straight road across the continent; and they can show it, and mark it out, and that about as

fast as a horse can trot. There is an idea become current of late—a new-born idea—that none but a man of science, bred in a school, can lay off a road. That is a mistake. There is a class of topographical engineers older than the schools, and more unerring than the mathematics. They are the wild animals—buffalo, elk, deer, antelope, bears, which traverse the forest, not by compass, but by an instinct which leads them always the right way—to the lowest passes in the mountains, the shallowest fords in the rivers, the richest pastures in the forests, the best salt springs, and the shortest practicable lines between remote points. They travel thousands of miles, have their annual migrations backwards and forwards, and never miss the best and shortest route. These are the first engineers to lay out a road in a new country; the Indians follow them, and hence a buffalo road becomes a war-path. The first white hunters follow the same trails in pursuing their game; and after that the buffalo road becomes the wagon road of the white man, and finally the macadamized or railroad of the scientific man. It all resolves itself into the same thing—into the same buffalo road; and thence the buffalo becomes the first and safest engineer. Thus it has been here, in the countries which we inhabit, and the history of which is so familiar. The present national road from Cumberland over the Alleghanies was the military road of General Braddock, which had been the buffalo path of the wild animals. So of the two roads from Western Virginia to Kentucky—one through the gap in the Cumberland Mountains, the other down the valley of the Kenhawa. They were both the war-path of the Indians and the traveling route of the buffalo, and their first white acquaintances the early hunters. Buffaloes made them in going from the salt springs on the Holston to the rich pastures and salt springs of Kentucky; Indians followed them first, white hunters afterwards—and that is the way Kentucky was discovered. In more than an hundred years no nearer or better routes have been found; and science now makes her improved roads exactly where the buffalo's foot first marked the way, and the hunter's foot afterwards followed him. So all over Kentucky and the West; and so in the Rocky Mountains. The famous South Pass was no scientific discovery. Some people think Fremont discovered it. It had been discovered forty years before—long before he was born. He only described it, and confirmed what the hunters and traders had reported, and what they showed

him. It was discovered—or rather first seen by white people—in 1808, two years after the return of Lewis and Clark, and by the first company of hunters and traders that went out after their report laid open the prospect of the fur trade in the Rocky Mountains.

An enterprising Spaniard of St. Louis, Manuel Lisa, sent out the party; an acquaintance, and old friend of the Senator from Wisconsin, who sits on my left, [General Henry Dodge,] led the party—his name Andrew Henry. He was the first white man that saw that pass; and he found it in the prosecution of his business, that of a hunter and trader, and by following the game, and the road which they had made. And that is the way all passes are found. But these traders do not write books and make maps, but they enable other people to do it. There are plenty of these men in the Great West at present—men who know every pass in the mountains, every ford in the rivers, every spot fit for cultivation, and the best and shortest way from any one point to another—who know every buffalo road and every Indian war trail, between the Mississippi and the Pacific ocean—and these men can go and mark out a road from the frontier of Missouri to the bay of San Francisco, as fast as a horse can trot. And they can cut out a common road, passable for wagons and carriages, with the aid of some axemen and some pickaxes, in the course of next summer, and upon the parallels which I have mentioned, with occasional slight deflections. There is a good route for the system of roads which should constitute the national central highway from the Mississippi to the Bay of San Francisco—a good way and central—a better way than any one not central that can be found in the United States. It is up the main branch of the Kansas, along the Upper Arkansas, along the Huerfano river, the Utah Pass, out at the head of the Del Norte, through Roubidoux's Pass, and thence across the valley of the Upper Colorado, and through the Great Basin, crossing the Sierra Nevada near its middle, or turning it on the south; the whole way nearly free from obstructions, a great part of it fertile, with wood and water fit for inhabitation, and brushing the present settlements of New Mexico and Utah. I have the map, and the description of the country, but cannot use it because the author is not here. I know what I say, and stake myself upon it. It will cross the Rocky Mountains between three and four degrees south of the South Pass, (now a misnomer, so called at the time because it was south of Lewis &

Clark's route,) and can be traveled earlier in the Spring, and later in the Fall, on account of grass, and easier all the Winter. This route, besides fulfilling all the requisites of a national highway, fulfills another condition of high and national treaty obligation. It traverses the ground which the protection and defence of the country requires to be occupied—to be garrisoned—that country which lies about the heads of the Arkansas and Del Norte—the hunting ground and war ground of the Utahs, Arapahoes, Navahoes, and other tribes which make war upon New Mexico and upon us. We are bound by treaty stipulations to protect Mexico against these Indians, and are bound by duty to protect our own people against them. A line of military posts is necessary through their country to give that protection: and this bill provides for it as a part of the road system, and also provides for the settlements which are to support the posts.

I have demonstrated the nationality of this work—its practicability—and the means in our hands for making it; I do not expatiate upon its importance. When finished it will be the American road to Asia, and will turn the Asiatic commerce of Europe through the heart of our America. It will make us the mistress of that trade—rich at home and powerful abroad—and reviving a line of oriental and almost fabulous cities to stretch across our continent—Tyres, Sidons, Palmyras, Balbecs. Do we need any stimulus for the undertaking? Any other nation, upon half a pretext, would go to war for the right of making it, and tax unborn generations for its completion. We have it without war, without tax, without treaty with any power; and when we make it all nations must travel it—with our permission—and behave themselves to receive permission. Besides riches and power, it will give us a hold upon the good behavior of nations by the possession which it will give us of the short, safe, and cheap road to India.

The work is great, but nothing compared to our means, and to the magnitude of the object, or to what was done by the Incas of Peru before the New World was discovered. Their two roads from Quito to Cuzco (to say nothing of many shorter ones) were each nearly as long, both over more difficult ground, equal in amount of labor required, and more commodious than the proposed system of roads from the Mississippi to the Pacific ocean. One of our classic historians (Prescott) thus describes them:

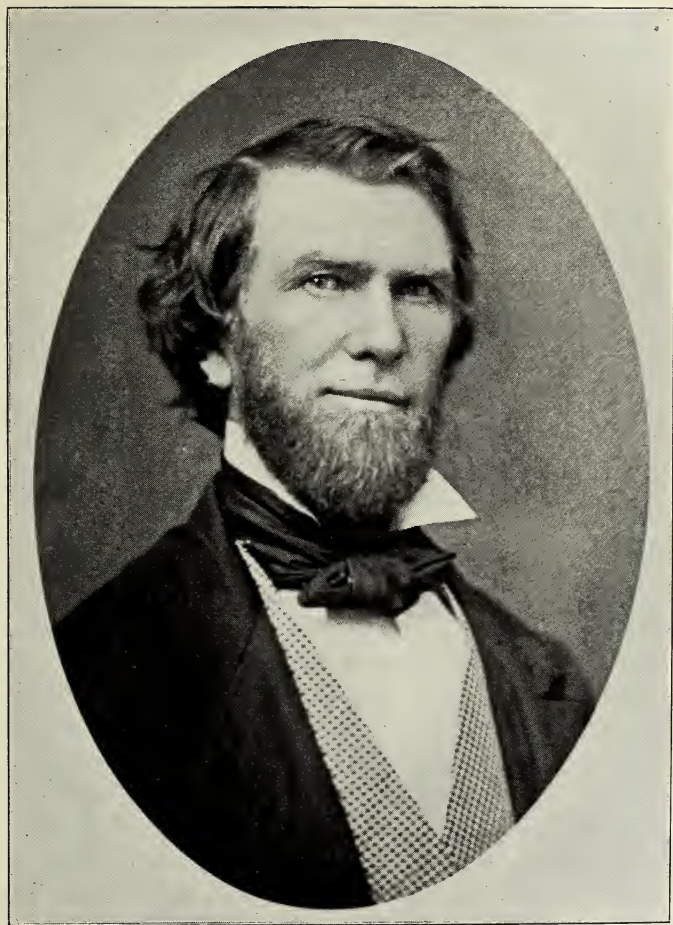
“There were many of these roads traversing different parts of the kingdom; but the most considerable were the two which extended from Quito to Cuzco, and, again diverging from the capital, continued in a southern direction towards Chili. One of these roads passed over the grand plateau, and the other along the lowlands on the borders of the ocean. The former was much the most difficult achievement, from the character of the country. It was conducted over pathless sierras buried in snow; galleries were cut for leagues through the living rock; rivers were crossed by means of bridges that swung suspended in the air; precipices were scaled by stair-ways hewn out of the native bed; ravines of hideous depth were filled up with solid masonry; in short, all the difficulties that beset a wild and mountainous region, and which might appal the most courageous engineers of modern times, were encountered and successfully overcome. The length of the road, of which scattered fragments only remain, is variously estimated, from fifteen hundred to two thousand miles; and some pillars, in the manner of European milestones, were erected at stated intervals of somewhat more than a league, all along the route. Its breadth scarcely exceeded twenty feet. It was built of heavy flags of freestone, and, in some parts at least, covered with a bituminous cement, which time has made harder than the stone itself. In some places where the ravines had been filled up with masonry, the mountain torrents, wearing it for ages, have gradually eaten a way through the base, and left the superincumbent mass—such is the cohesion of the materials—still spanning the valley like an arch. Over some of the boldest streams it was necessary to construct suspension bridges, as they are termed, made of the tough fibers of the maguey, or of the osier of the country, which has an extraordinary degree of tenacity and strength. These osiers were woven into cables of the thickness of a man’s body. The huge ropes, then stretched across the water, were conducted through rings or holes cut in immense buttresses of stone raised on the opposite banks of the river, and there secured to heavy pieces of timber. Several of these enormous cables, bound together, formed a bridge, which, covered with planks, well secured and defended by a railing of the same osier materials on the sides, afforded a safe passage for the traveler.

“The other road of the Incas lay through the level country between the Andes and the ocean. It was constructed in a different manner,

as demanded by the nature of the ground, which was for the most part low, and much of it sandy. The causeway was raised on a high embankment of earth, and defended on either side by a parapet, or wall of clay; and trees and odoriferous shrubs were planted along the margin, regaling the sense of the traveler with their perfumes, and refreshing him by their shades, so grateful under the burning sky of the tropics. All along these highways, caravansaries were erected at the distance of ten or twelve miles for the accommodation of travelers, militarily constructed for security, and supplied with water brought in aqueducts when not found at the place. Couriers, in relieves, and running swiftly, carried dispatches the whole extent of these long routes at the rate of one hundred and fifty miles a day; and, besides dispatches, often carried fish from the distant ocean, and fruits and game from the hot regions on the coast, to be served up fresh at the Inca's table in the imperial capitals."

The Baron Humboldt, "*the Nestor of Scientific Travelers*," thus speaks of the remains of the same roads from his own personal observation:

"As we were leading our heavily-laden mules with great difficulty through the marshy ground on the elevated plain del Pullal, our eyes meanwhile were continually dwelling on the grand remains of the Inca's road, which, with a breadth of twenty-one English feet, was there remaining by our side. It had a deep understructure, and was paved with well cut blocks of blackish trap-porphry. Nothing that I had seen of the remains of Roman roads in Italy, in the South of France, and in Spain, was more imposing than those works of the ancient Peruvians, which are situated, according to my barometric measurements, 13,258 English feet above the level of the sea—or more than a thousand feet higher than the summit of the Peak of Teneriffe. There are two great artificial paved roads, or systems of roads, covered with flat stones, or sometimes even with cemented gravel; one passes through the wide and arid plain, between the Pacific ocean and the chain of the Andes, and the other over the ridges of the Cordilleras. Milestones, or stones marking the distances, are often placed at equal intervals. The road was conducted across rivers and deep ravines by three kinds of bridges—stone, wood, and rope bridges; and there were also aqueducts for bringing water to the resting places (caravansaries) and to the fortresses. Both systems of roads



ABELARD GUTHRIE.

were directed to the central point, Cuzco, the seat of government of the great empire, in $13^{\circ} 31'$ south latitude, and which is placed, according to Pentland's map of Bolivia, 13,378 English feet above the level of the sea. The two important capitals of the empire, Cuzco and Quito, thus connected by two different systems of roads, are 1,000 English geographical miles apart, in a straight line—(S. S. E. N. N. W.)—without reckoning the many windings of the way; and, including the windings, the distance is estimated by Garcilasso de la Vega and other conquistadores at 500 leagues."

Such were the roads constructed on our own continent before the discovery of the New World, and by a people whom we consider uncivilized, and who certainly had but few of the helps of civilization—no knowledge of iron—no mechanical powers—no beast of burden but a sort of sheep—the lama—too light for the draught, and too weak for the burden—only carrying an hundred pounds ten miles in a day; and yet a people who constructed two such roads, each near about as long as from the Missouri to the Pacific—one at a mountainous elevation only about a thousand feet lower than the summit of Mont Blanc, and the other in the arid sands of the lowlands, under a tropical heat, and both in a direction to cross successive mountains or rivers, and both executed in a style of accommodation that we do not pretend to rival: military protection, safe lodging, water, shade, baths, the perfume of odoriferous shrubs! and mails, messages, and small burdens transported upon them at the rate of one hundred and fifty miles a day, without horses and without steam, by men running on foot alone. After seeing such a system of roads on our own continent, devised and established by such a people, what is there to prevent us, the vanguard of the Anglo-Saxon race, and the descendants of the *elite* of Europe, to open the system of roads which my bill proposes—a common road, on which the mail stage is to run one hundred miles in twenty-four hours, and a letter horse mail two hundred miles in the same time—a railway on which the cars are to fly, like the express trains in England, forty-two miles to the hour—an electric line along which, and across the continent, people are to communicate as they would hold converse across a room?

Mr. President, if there ever was a time when nationality and centrality should pre-eminently govern the action of Congress in great

measures, this is that time; and the system of roads I propose is one of those measures.

I now ask leave to bring in the bill.

Leave was granted, and the bill was read.

A BILL to provide for the location and construction of a central national highway from the Mississippi river, at St. Louis, to the Bay of San Francisco, on the Pacific ocean.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

That a district of territory one hundred miles wide, and extending from the western frontier of Missouri to the Pacific ocean, and corresponding as nearly as may be to the central latitudes of the United States, together with the revenue from lands and customs in California, Oregon, New Mexico, and Utah, so far as not required for expenditures therein, shall be set apart and reserved for opening communications with California, Oregon, New Mexico, and Utah, by means of a central national highway from St. Louis to the Bay of San Francisco, to connect with ocean navigation in that bay; with a branch of said highway to Santa Fe, in New Mexico; and a branch to the tide-water region of the Columbia river, so as to connect with ocean navigation at that point; and also a branch to the city of the Great Salt Lake, if said central highway should not in its proper course pass that city; and a breadth of fifty miles shall be set apart and reserved for the location and construction of said branch roads respectively.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That the said central national highway shall consist of a system of parallel roads adapted to different modes of travel and transportation, and a margin for lines of electro-telegraphic wires, whereof one common road and one iron railroad shall be immediately opened and constructed; and such other roads shall be hereafter opened and constructed as Congress from time to time may authorize; and in order that the said national central highway may be constructed on a scale commensurate to its importance, and adapted to the wants of present and future time, and in order to allow convenient space for all the parallel lines of road which commerce and travel may require thereon, a breadth of one mile shall be allowed through the reserve of one hundred miles; and the said branch roads shall equally consist of a common road and a railway, and such other roads as Congress may from time to time authorize and direct, with a margin for a line of electro-telegraph wires, and a breadth of one thousand feet shall be allowed through the reserve of fifty miles for such branch roads each, respectively; and each track for a road shall be entitled to a space of one hundred feet wide,

and when finished the said iron railway, or ways, shall never be subject to any toll or tax beyond that which may be necessary to provide repairs; and the said common roads shall be forever free from any toll or tax, and shall be kept in traveling order by the care and expense of the Federal Government.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That the President be authorized and requested to cause all the authentic information in possession of the Government, or in its power to procure, necessary to show the practicability of a route for said central highway, to be collected and digested into brief memoirs, illustrated by topographical and profile maps, to be laid before Congress as soon as possible; also, that he be authorized and requested to cause further surveys and examinations to be made, and the results to be laid before Congress as soon as possible; and for that purpose to employ as many citizen civil engineers as may be necessary.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That as soon as Congress shall fix upon the routes of said central highway and branches, the President shall be and hereby is authorized and requested to cause the Indian title to be extinguished upon a breadth of one hundred miles, to cover the route of said central highway; and also to extinguish the Indian title upon suitable breadths of fifty miles each, covering the said branch roads; and the location and construction of the central highway shall immediately be commenced, both for the common road and the railway, and with a force calculated to finish the common road in one year, so as to be passable for wagons and carriages, and the railway in ten years.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That as soon as the said common road is finished, the same shall be a post road, and a daily mail carried thereon in wagons, or coaches, or sleighs, when necessary, at the rate of at least one hundred miles in twenty-four hours; and a daily horse mail for light letters and printed slips, at the rate of at least two hundred miles in twenty-four hours.

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That as soon as said railway, or any sufficient part thereof, shall be completed and fit for use, the use thereof shall be granted, for a limited time, to such individuals or companies as shall, by contract with the Government, agree to transport persons, mails, munitions of war, and freight of all kinds, public and private, in vehicles furnished by themselves, over the same, at such reasonable rates as shall be agreed upon: *Provided*, That if other roads shall hereafter be constructed on the ground reserved for roads by this act, the same company or persons shall not be allowed to have the contract for transportation, or any interest in more than one road at the same time.

SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That military stations shall be established on the line of the central highway and its branches, at such places as the President shall direct.

SEC. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That donations of land, to the extent of one hundred and sixty acres, shall be made to each head of a family, widow, or single man over eighteen years of age, who shall be settled on the line of said central highway and branches, and within the bounds of the extinguished Indian claim, within twelve months after the time of such extinction of title; and pre-emption rights, to the same extent, shall be allowed to all similar settlers after twelve months; and the residue of said reserved districts, except gold mines and placers, and private claims, or donations or pre-emption rights, shall be sold, and the proceeds applied to the construction of the roads.

SEC. 9. *And be it further enacted*, That the sum of three hundred thousand dollars, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, shall be and the same hereby is appropriated, and placed at the disposition of the President, to defray the expenses of carrying into effect the third and fourth sections of this act, for the collection and preparation of information and the extinction of Indian titles necessary to the selection and location of the route for said central national highway and branches.

SEC. 10. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall and may be lawful for the President of the United States to contract with the Mississippi and Pacific railroad Company for their interest in so much of said road as shall be within the State of Missouri, and to purchase the same at a price not exceeding their actual expenditures, the said purchase to be subject to the ratification of Congress.

The bill was read a first and second time by its title, and referred to the Committee on Roads and Canals, and ordered to be printed.

[From the Congressional Globe, 2d Session, 31st Congress, 1851, page 56.]

A BRIEF SKETCH
OF
ABELARD GUTHRIE,
THE FIRST DELEGATE TO CONGRESS FROM NE-
BRASKA TERRITORY.

I.

Abelard Guthrie was born five miles north of Dayton, Montgomery County, Ohio, March 9, 1814. He was of Scotch-Irish extraction, and was possessed of all the persistency and tenacity of purpose of that hardy people. His parents were born in Pennsylvania, and were among the early emigrants to Ohio. They were closely related to the progenitors of the present Todd (or Tod) family of Ohio and Kentucky.

The following genealogical information concerning Mr. Guthrie's family was kindly furnished me by my friend, J. V. Andrews, Esq., the wealthy banker, of Kansas City, Kansas. It is taken principally from "Pennsylvania Genealogies," chiefly of the "Scotch-Irish, and German," by William Henry Egle, M. D., M. A.; Harrisburg, Pa., 1896.

John Andrews came from Londonderry, North Ireland, to Pennsylvania, in 1737. He located on the Manada, Hanover Township, Lancaster County. His name appears on the first Assessment, for the "East End of Hanover." He married Miss Jane Strain of Dauphin County, Pennsylvania. Among his children were Hugh, Robert, John, and James. John was a physician; he had charge of the Philadelphia Hospital; died unmarried.

Captain Hugh Andrews was born August 31, 1764. He married Ann Speer, who was born October 2, 1764, and died June 25, 1797. Their children were four in number—1. Isabella; 2. James; 3. John; 4. Margaret.

Captain Hugh Andrews was married a second time, to Miss Elizabeth Ainsworth, who was born August 31, 1780. They were married September 10, 1799, and moved to Dayton, Ohio, where he bought property. He bought, also, two thousand acres of land on Mad River, five miles north of Dayton. He improved this tract of land and built a house on it in which he lived, and where he died May 17, 1811.

Elizabeth Ainsworth was the daughter of John Ainsworth, and the granddaughter of Samuel Ainsworth—all born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. The children of Hugh and Elizabeth (Ainsworth) Andrews were: 1. Nancy Speer, who married David Shaw; 2. Samuel Ainsworth, who married Miss Margaret Ramsey; 3. James, who married Mary Cornelia Van Cleve; 4. Eliza, who married Alexander Stephens; 5. Hugh, who married Phoebe Cook.

James Andrews and Mary Cornelia (Van Cleve) Andrews had eleven children, six of whom grew to manhood and womanhood, among whom were John Van Cleve Andrews of Kansas City, Kansas, the banker above mentioned, and who married Miss Mary E. Hill of Lincoln, Nebraska. He lived ten years in Pueblo, Colorado; four years in Topeka, Kansas; then moved to Kansas City, Kansas.

Mrs. Elizabeth (Ainsworth) Andrews married James Guthrie, April 22, 1813.

James Guthrie was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, August 19, 1784. His ancestors were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who came early to Pennsylvania from the North of Ireland. He came to Ohio in 1809, and engaged in teaching school in and about Dayton. He was an energetic man of somewhat eccentric character, but held in high

esteem for his industry, public spirit, and genuine worth. His wife Elizabeth (Ainsworth) died September 1, 1850. He was married a second time; this second marriage caused him and his children much trouble. He died August 3, 1860. He and his first wife are buried in Woodland Cemetery, Dayton, Ohio, with other kindred.

The children of James Guthrie and his wife Elizabeth (Ainsworth) were: 1. Abelard, born March 9, 1814; 2. Eloisa, born June 19, 1817; married Jacob Light; 3. Margaret, born May 19, 1819; married Isaac Strohm.

Abelard Guthrie was married early in the year 1844, in what is now Kansas City, Kansas, to Miss Quindaro Nancy Brown, a Wyandot-Shawnee girl, of the Big Turtle Clan of the Wyandot Tribe and the Turtle Clan of the Shawnee Tribe. Miss Brown was born in Canada West, and was the daughter of Adam Brown, who was the son of Chief Adam Brown, who bought Governor Walker's father from the Delawares. Miss Brown's mother was a Shawnee. Mrs. Guthrie was, at the time of her marriage, said to be the most beautiful girl in the Wyandot Nation. She was tall and of faultless form. Intellectually she was a superior woman. She was a faithful wife, a devoted, Christian mother. She died at her home on Russell's Creek in the Cherokee Country, Indian Territory, April 13, 1886, and is buried in the cemetery at Chetopa, Kansas.

Four of the children of Abelard Guthrie and his wife Quindaro Nancy (Brown) lived to maturity, two sons and two daughters: 1. James; married Grace ———; they have four children: 1. Lucy; 2. Percy; 3. Hugh; 4. Ray; Lucy is Matron of the Government School at Wyandotte, Indian Territory.

2. Abalura; married Charles Graves; died, leaving one son, Clarence Graves.

3. Norsona; married Edward S. Lane, brother of Hon.

V. J. Lane, the veteran editor of the *Herald*, of Kansas City, Kansas. They have two sons; 1. Marsh; 2. Vernon.

4. Jacob; married Dora ———; they have two children; 1. Wade Abelard; 2. Robert.

When Abelard Guthrie married Miss Brown he was adopted into the Bear Clan of the Wyandots, and given the name Tah-keh'-yoh-shrah'-tseh, which means the twin brain, or the man with two brains. The name was given to denote his recognized ability. He was supposed, by the Indian system of name-giving in this particular instance, to possess, after his adoption, the brain of the white man and the brain of the Bear (*i. e.*, the Indian).

He died suddenly in Washington City, of heart failure, January 13, 1873. He was there at the time urging upon Congress the justice of some long neglected claims of the Wyandots and himself, and the Shawnee claim of his wife and family.

II.

Abelard Guthrie was not a large man. In his Journal, February 28, 1862, he gives his height as five feet, nine and three-fourths inches, and his weight as one hundred and fifty-seven pounds. His eyes were blue, his complexion fair, his hair auburn. His features of face were rugged and strong; mouth large, mobile, firm. Until the very last years of his life he wore his hair like the Indians formerly wore theirs—long, and falling over his shoulders. He was a man of strong religious nature and convictions. All through his Journals he speaks of his faith and his trust in God. He even writes some of his prayers. Had it not been for his strong belief in the justice of the overruling providence of God, he says often in his Journals, he could not have survived many of his trials and troubles.

In his writings little is revealed concerning his early life.

He speaks of having attended school. He was a man of wide experience and extensive information. His mind was rugged and retentive. He was quick to decide and fearless to execute. He was daring, and perseverance was the strongest trait of his character. He was nervously restless and energetic. Compulsory inaction was to him what the cage is to the lion. He was honest, honorable, and direct in business transactions himself, so much so that he was credulous and somewhat lax in binding others to strict performance of their stipulations. This trait caused him to trust unworthy and dishonest men, and the result was financial ruin, and life cut short by disease superinduced by worry.

For some years he was chief clerk in the office of John Johnston, Esq., Agent at Piqua, Ohio, for all the Ohio Indians. In this capacity he had much business to transact with the Chiefs and principal men of the Wyandots and thus became acquainted with them. He seems to have taken much interest in the welfare of the Wyandots from the first, and to have rendered them important service in the negotiation of the treaty by which they ceded their Ohio lands to the Government.

In the summer of 1842 President Tyler appointed Guthrie Register of the United States Land Office at Upper Sandusky. He took charge of the office and administered its affairs for a time. No action was had on his nomination until near the close of the year 1843, when it was rejected. His rejection was the result of the political conditions existing at the time, and not of any charge of incompetency or unfitness to administer the office. This was in the unsettled times caused by the death of President Harrison and the demoralization of the Whig party by the action of President Tyler. The Wyandots had already left Upper Sandusky when he was notified of his rejection by the Senate, they having departed in the previous July. His disappointment was keen, and he

was so mortified for the moment that he determined to follow the Wyandots West. He arrived at the mouth of the Kansas River in January, 1844.

Many years afterward he made the following entry in his Journal:

"13th February 1858

"To-day I have been overhauling a large number of old letters and papers. How much I could say on the subject! These silent mementoes of the past, how many reminiscences and associations do they call up! and what a picture of the meanness, the treachery and the falsehood of man do they present! Not one of these correspondents now even writes to me and how full are all these letters of the warmest professions [of] friendship. And it is not the most agreeable circumstance that these friends were the most numerous and the most punctual when any good fortune sprang up in the way. For instance when I was appointed Register of the Land office at Upper Sandusky by the President of the United States many old friends who had been oppressed with cares to such a degree that they had ceased to write any but business letters, now found leisure to renew their correspondence with me; but after my rejection by the Senate and my exit to the Indian Country, their cares and embarrassments again compelled them to drop me until I was sent to Congress by the people of Nebraska, when again I found the affections of my friends as fresh and strong as ever, if not much improved by the few years of oblivion. This momentary gleam of prosperity however soon passed away and disease and poverty compelled me to retire from the field of political strife and my friends in their excess of delicacy were unwilling to obtrude upon my solitude [and] entirely deserted me. Now for two or three years I have been struggling with disease and poverty and I have not in that time rec'd one letter from any of my former friends; but misfortune may also have fallen upon them. And it would be another strange coincidence, should my present enterprise be successful, and be followed by a revival of old and withdrawn or latent friendships? Yet I doubt not most if not all of these young men were sincere in their professions of friendship and could not foresee what effect adversity would have upon the growth of this delicate plant. But I believe I can conscientiously say before God that I never dropped or

neglected a friend on account of his misfortunes or want of success. In God I trust and he will sustain me only as I am just."

When Mr. Guthrie left Upper Sandusky he did not intend to remain for any great length of time in the West. He expected to look over the great prairies and return to Ohio after a visit with his friends, the Wyandots. But how little does any man control his own destiny, or even the actions or events of a brief day of his existence! The vast extent, the beauty, the fertility of the country west of the Mississippi River was a revelation to him. He was impressed with the immense possibilities of the virgin country, the extent of which he now only began to comprehend. His astute mind grasped at once the possibility and to some degree the extent of the development which the resources of this vast domain would reach in the quick-coming future. Like all men of great mind, he was charmed with the thought that he might become a factor in the transformation which he foresaw.

He had met Miss Brown in Ohio, and, it is said, desired very much to marry her before she came West, but this was opposed by her father, who always bore a strong aversion and dislike to Mr. Guthrie. There is little doubt that he hoped to return with her as his bride to Ohio. In the early summer of 1844 Abelard Guthrie and Quindaro Nancy Brown were married, in what is now Kansas City, Kansas. This was one of the first weddings, if not the very first, in what is now Wyandotte County, Kansas.

III.

I cannot state positively that Abelard Guthrie was in the Mexican War, although there is every probability that he was. Many Wyandots went into the American Army in this war and fought well for their country. A man of

Guthrie's disposition could hardly resist the temptation to go into the army, under the circumstances then existing.

Whether he was a soldier or not, he was, in some way and in some capacity, in Mexico in the year 1848. In a manuscript letter, now in my possession, from John Johnston, Esq., Indian Agent at Piqua, Ohio, to Governor Walker, Mr. Johnston speaks of the death of his son in Mexico. He says he had the body brought home and buried by his wife. Mr. Guthrie may have performed this service for his old-time friend and employer. If so it is possible that the following Journal refers to this. It is to be regretted that the Journal ends so abruptly. Why it was interrupted and not resumed cannot now be ascertained :

A FRAGMENT OF ABELARD GUTHRIE'S JOURNAL.

Left Cincinnati Sunday morning at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 o'clock the 20th Feby 1848, for New Orleans on board the steamboat United States Capt Caldwell and arrived at New Orleans on Monday morning the 28th February.

Left New Orleans 10 o'clock P. M. Sunday the 5th March 1848 on board the steam ship Edith and passed over the bar of the Balize at 11 o'clock A. M. the 11th March.

Left Vera Cruz at 8 o'clock A. M. Wednesday 15th March under escort of 350 infantry & 80 horse and a train of 40 waggons, the escort being under the command of Col. Williams of the Michigan Volunteers and encamped the first night about five miles from Vera Cruz the road lies over a succession of barren sand hills; the next 2 miles are over or rather through a constant succession of hills of sandy earth covered with many varieties of acacia and cactus. The road through these hills is perfectly level but narrow and crooked and must either have been once the bed of a stream of water or excavated by immense labor. In any part of this narrow defile twenty resolute well armed men could have driven us back and no more secure hiding place for an ambuscade could be wished. It would have been impossible for our men to have fought with any effect in a pass so narrow nor could they have pursued a foe through the chaparral so armed is

every thing of the vegetable kind with thorns or spikes that no one can penetrate them without sharing to a certainty the fate of the man who "picked up a briar bush and scratched out both his eyes" The next mile is a rich black sandy soil and indeed all save the first 2 miles is well suited to cultivation. This day the weather was cool and pleasant. I wore woolen clothes and was neither too cold nor too warm.

16th March. Resumed our march this morning at 6 o'clock. After a march of about ten miles over a most beautiful prairie country of rich yellow soil we halted at a spot where 54 Georgia volunteers & 30 Louisiana volunteers attacked a band of guerrillas about two hundred strong and lost in killed 6 Georgians & 1 Louisianian. The body of the latter was carried away and the others left on the field. It was to collect and bury their bones that we here halted. While searching for the bones two shots were fired at us from a distant hill by guerrillas. One of those killed in this encounter was a waggoner. After the guerrillas were routed Col. Briscoe of the Louisiana volunteers the commander of the escort ordered a retreat directing the waggons to take each a mule from his wagon and save himself, the murdered man's mule became stubborn and his companions deserted him. So soon as the guerrillas saw the waggons and driver abandoned they returned and took possession of the abandoned property and killed the driver—his body was not recovered. We found the bones of the Georgians and carried them to Cordova for interment. This night we encamped on the west bank of the Solidad a beautiful little river about twenty miles from Vera Cruz at a ranch (farm) called San Diego, owned by a guerrilla Chief named Zanobia; it was deserted as indeed were all the ranches (farms) thus far. This day was warm with alternate cloud and sunshine, but the heat was not oppressive. The Solidad afforded the finest bathing which our men engaged in with a hearty good will. The attack above alluded to under Briscoe was on Saturday the 19th Feb. 1848.

17th March. About a mile from last night's encampment we found the bones of a wagon master who had been killed by guerrillas about a month before when out upon a scouting party. He was drawn into the danger by mistaking the Mexicans for Americans nor did he discover the error until in the very midst of his foes. He was buried the next day by his companions but his body was torn from its grave

and the grave filled up. This day's march was about 15 miles over a hilly prairie of rich black sandy soil but not tillable with the plow because of the great quantities of fragments of stone that lie upon it. In this day's march we saw the remains of ancient walls which in all probability once composed an immense city. Nothing now is to be seen but the innumerable straight lines of stones composing squares of all sizes and frequently so large as to have many partitions marking off rooms of various sizes and forms. This night we encamped at a ranch called Palo Verda (green tree) where we had to carry water $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles and bad at that though we had not seen a drop since morning. Here the beef contractor for the Army killed a cow and calf which I was told belonged to the old lady who kept the ranch but though she demanded pay for it I could not learn that she received anything. This was the more outrageous from the fact that we had been treated with great kindness by this woman and her family; she having given us freely a barrel of excellent water which had been brought a distance of two miles and kept in large earthen vessels until it was cold—a most delicious treat after a whole day's thirst. I now learned that our beef killer had contracted with our government to furnish beef to the army at nine cents a pound; a good business certainly on the part of the contractor for as he paid nothing for the beef and paid nothing for the services of the soldiers who were required to assist him in bringing it into camp the profits were very handsome. These contractors are attached to every division of the army whether in quarters or station or on the march. And though I have heard of private soldiers being "*bucked and gagged*" for taking beef in the same way, indeed I have heard of no instance of private soldiers killing animals for food but were punished for it. I cannot believe our government has sanctioned knowingly a contract for paying a man 9 cents a pound for stealing beef. In the morning the water keg of our kind hostess was missing and she sent a complaint to that effect to Col. Williams but as the train was then in motion he said he could not think of losing the time it would require to search all the wagons but had rather pay for the keg. But I am not aware that he did. This day was warm but for the most part cloudy and in the evening we had a slight shower of rain though in the mountains we could see it pouring down in cataracts and the constant flashes of lightning and peals of thunder showed that a violent storm was raging there. These mountains have

been in view for two days though we have been marching directly toward them.

18th March. This morning the sun rose from a dark cloud but for half an hour before it was visible we could see its reflection on the snowy top of the Orizaba still about sixty miles distant. The other mountains the Chickawuta seemed only about two or three miles off yet they were really nearly twenty. This deception is produced by the extraordinary transparency of the atmosphere. To-day for many miles the road on either side as far as the eye could see were the remains of stone habitations which must have been a sort of rural city the spaces between the ruins being sufficiently large for extensive gardens. We saw a stone wall of excellent workmanship thrown across the bed of a dry stream, designed to form a reservoir for the purpose of supplying the cattle and farmers with water during the dry season. The dam was broken down in one place no doubt with a view of depriving the Americans of water in this dry region. The labor expended on this wall would doubtless have been sufficient to have made half a dozen wells and certainly the water would have been much better yet there is not a single well of water between Vera Cruz and Cordova save the miserable apology for one five miles from the former place.

IV.

Abelard Guthrie was an Argonaut—a pioneer in California. So restless a spirit could not behold thousands of gold hunters sweep by his very door without himself contracting the feverish desire to be a partaker in their adventures, their dangers and in the golden harvest. It is supposed a hundred thousand men crossed the plains in 1849 and 1850. A great number of these started from Westport, Mo., and many from Fort Leavenworth.

A number of Wyandots organized themselves into a mining company early in 1850. Their purpose was to dig gold from the mines and wash it from the beds of streams in California. For the names of these Wyandots see Governor Walker's Journal, under date May 15, 1850. On that date

the party set out upon the long and painful journey to the gold fields beyond the Sierras. They were six months on the road across the boundless prairies, the frightful mountains of barren rock, the parched and dreary wastes of burning sands. They worked along the Feather River, and Russell Garrett says they found an abundance of gold.

We are not informed when Mr. Guthrie returned from California, but it was some time before the summer or fall of 1852.

V.

Mr. Guthrie, in the summer of 1852, directed his efforts toward securing a Territorial organization for the Territory of Nebraska, with bounds practically those of the present States of Kansas and Nebraska. In this, all the evidence I have been able to obtain and examine shows that he was acting with, and largely for, Senator Thomas H. Benton of Missouri, although he says the idea was his own, and that "solitary and alone" he undertook this work. His Journals are full of references to his work as a Delegate to Congress from Nebraska Territory, but they contain no extensive statement of the movement which sent him there. I have not been so fortunate as to find those covering the years of the movement for a Territorial Government for Nebraska Territory. My account of his services, so far as they relate to this movement, is written in another part of this work.

VI.

In 1862 Mr. Guthrie made some effort to have all the Indian Country between the States of Kansas and Texas erected into the Territory of Lanniwa, and provided with a Territorial Government. He prepared a bill for this purpose and advocated its passage. The bill was introduced by Senator Pomeroy of Kansas. The merits of the bill and



QUINDARO NANCY GUTHRIE.

the policy which it outlined were discussed in the columns of the New York *Tribune*.

VII.

During the troublous times in Kansas Territory immediately succeeding the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill there was no point within her borders where Free-State people from the East could land unmolested to enter the conflict for liberty and freedom then raging there. The Missouri River towns of the Territory were little more than camps for border ruffians, and it was often necessary for settlers from the Northern States to enter Kansas by the way of Iowa and Nebraska. The necessity for a Missouri River town where the Free-State sentiment prevailed was recognized, and the building of such a town urged by Free-State men and Free-State interests.

Guthrie was identified with the Free-State movement in Kansas Territory from its inception. He was a Delegate to the Big Springs convention. But he did not aspire to leadership in the movement. Like John Brown and other great men of the day, he believed it was to be only a temporary expedient which would carry the struggle for freedom in Kansas through a preliminary stage, then be succeeded by something broader—a National party. Others of Kansas, some of the so-called great men, never got beyond this point in Kansas politics. When the Free-State party was absorbed by the Republican party they were left floundering about without rudder, chart, or compass, and could never make up their minds about the relative merit of existing political parties, but were found first in one and then in another, as the opportunity for office or gain seemed to them best for the time being.

At this time steamboats on the Missouri River furnished the only means of communication with the East, aside from

the overland freighter's wagon and ox-team, consequently a good landing for steamboats was of the first importance in selecting a town site. Ascending the Missouri after it becomes the State line, the first good landing on the Kansas side is some six miles above the mouth of the Kaw. Here the yellow waves of the mud-laden Missouri surge against a limestone ledge, and deep water is as reasonably certain as the capriciousness of this erratic river will allow at any point. The land along this broken shore was owned by the Wyandot Indians, but by a recent treaty they were permitted to sell it. Guthrie, being a Wyandot by adoption and a prominent Free-State man, was invited to take an interest in the new town. To this he was not averse. But there were pro-slavery and anti-slavery factions in the Wyandot Nation, and it was necessary that both be represented in the Town Company, for otherwise it might be difficult, if not impossible, to purchase the required Indian land. For this reason Joel Walker, a brother of Governor Walker, and a splendid business man, was solicited to take an interest, which he did, and became one of the founders of the Free-State town.

The Free-State city was named Quindaro, in honor of Mrs. Guthrie. The plat was filed in 1860, but the survey had been made in 1857, and lots were sold in that year. A city was rapidly built. Stone and brick blocks rose along the broken bluffs and serpentine gullies and ravines. Here was to be the crossing of the Missouri River and Rocky Mountain Railroad, and lands for terminal facilities for this road were provided.

After two years of unparalleled prosperity the town began to decline. Nature and not man selects sites for great marts. It was soon seen that the great city of Kansas, and the Valley of the Missouri, was to be built on the site indicated by Senator Benton, at the mouth of the Kansas, and principally on the Missouri side of the State line. Honest

management would have made Quindaro a thriving village, but not having that, it fell almost as rapidly as it rose. The business blocks were deserted and became the habitations of bats and owls. To-day one may see these ruins in the fragments of old walls remaining scattered over the town site. After the civil war many negroes from Missouri took up their residence in these ruins, and they own most of the old town site yet.

This venture was the financial ruin of Guthrie. He put into it all he possessed, and endorsed for the Quindaro City Company and different members of the corporation to such an extent that he was overwhelmed with debts. For fifteen years he struggled with these debts, and finally sank into the grave beneath their weight.

VIII.

I give here a few quotations from Mr. Guthrie's Journals. Some of these excerpts indicate a spirit of bitterness in the writer. He may, perhaps, be justly charged with a denunciation too severe. But when one has read all the circumstances under which he wrote, as they are recorded in his Journals, he will, I believe, be constrained to admit that the provocation was great—often exasperating. His arraignment of Governor Robinson is severe in the extreme, but I believe no more so in his Journals than in a pamphlet which he published, a copy of which can be seen in the Library of the Kansas State Historical Society. These Journals are of interest at this time as showing how many of the patriotic men of his time misjudged President Lincoln. I have taken the following extracts at random and as representative of the whole Journal, and not for the sentiment expressed, in a single instance.

March 9, 1858.

To-day I am *forty four* years old. Alas, what have I done with these 44 years! More good than I have credit for, less evil than I am charged with. And yet how much more good I might have done! and how much evil I might have avoided! But oh! how much have I suffered and how little have I enjoyed! Yet in every vicissitude of life my hopes and my faith in the future were never diminished for I know that God sets all things right. . . .

Went to Quindaro and voted for Walden, Ed. of the "Chindowan" for Delegate to frame a Constitution the other gentlemen on the ticket I know nothing favorable of and therefore I did not vote for any of them.

14th March, 1858.

In the evening I went over to Alfred Gray's and we talked prosily enough upon general topics for a short time I returned home. Why are men in good health sometimes so much duller than at others? I sometimes think I can coin ideas as fast as other men but at other times it is a labor to think or to talk upon the most commonplace subject, and what is strangest this stupidity is most oppressive just after reading an interesting book.

9th April, 1858

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I was shown a letter to-day from Gov. Robinson speaking in the most confident language of his success in getting a grant of land for our railroad. Should this enterprise succeed Quindaro will be the great city of the West, and it is believed that with my present property I will be a rich man, so people tell me and so I would like to believe. What immeasurable felicity must be that of the rich man who feels and knows that God has bestowed upon him this much of his favor for wise and useful purposes.

12th April 1858

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Gov. Robinson is much to blame for these embarrassments. The debts I have been paying are his and now I am obliged to disappoint and injure my own creditors. Robinson may turn out an honest man but he is certainly a very callous one—and such an one as I hope never again to do business with.

Tuesday 13th April 1858

Went to Kansas City intending to go to Shawnee to see Capt. Parks but meeting him in Kansas City I did my business, . . . and to try to get the Captain to get the Shawnees and Delawares to build a bridge over the Kansas river at the point nearest to Chilli-cothe in the success of which he is largely interested. The measure I propose would make it a place of considerable importance whereas without it there will be no town. The Captain I believe thinks well of my project and said he would bring it up in Council. A bridge at this point will be as advantageous to Quindaro as at any other hence my interest in it.

Thursday 15th April 1858

I have never suffered more anguish of mind than I have suffered within the last month on account of pecuniary embarrassments. I have aimed at a fortune but it would be dearly earned were this state of things to last long. After all the old Indian life, with all its poverty and hardship is the happiest.

Wednesday 15th [September, 1858.]

Went to Wyandot city to attend the "Free State" County Convention as a delegate from Quindaro. The convention was conducted with harmony and goodfeeling; but it made no declaration of principles on which to act as a permanent party, the chief desire appearing to be to unite as far as practicable the anti slavery element in the county, and the control of the territorial legislature but without reference to any line of policy designed for the public good. I was put on the "Committee["] to draft a platform and resolutions expressive of the views and designs of the convention and endeavored to have principles enunciated in support of which we could labor permanently, but it was contended that if we took decisive grounds upon the great questions of the day we would drive off the moderate men of the democratic party who would otherwise support nominations made solely on the question of free or slave State. How hard is it to conquer prejudice after reason has yielded everything! And how often does temporary expediency triumph over and trample down truth justice and

wise policy ! This convention was composed of as intelligent and fine looking men as I ever saw assembled on a like occasion, yet I never before saw so little display of independence and outspoken truth and such studied cowardice and timidity, and all appeared felicitated with the manner in which they had hid their heads in the sand. Poor ostrich we laugh at thy simplicity and imitate thy example with gravity and diligence?

This is the first nominating convention I have attended in the Territory, and after spending a thousand dollars in obtaining a government for the Territory (and without my efforts there would have been no territorial organization) and opening the country to white settlement, I had not money enough to buy myself a dinner and so fasted from morning till my return home at night. The humiliation of such poverty was more painful than the want of food and more painful still it has been brought upon me by the ingratitude and dishonesty of men who owe to me all they are worth.

Monday 4th October 1858.

Attended the election, but was too weak to stay long on the ground. This election presented scenes which cannot but lessen one's confidence in the popular will; the catholics voted in a body at the dictation of their priest, and the Indians sold their votes for a dinner, whisky, and some of them probably received small sums of money. Yet with all this competition on the part of the democracy, the free State party received 99 votes out of the 157 cast. Alas, the poor Indian despised by those who use him and spurned by those he opposes and who have been his only friends! Ungrateful, ignorant and unprincipled how soon will thy sad fate be sealed.

Friday 15th October 1858

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This trouble and all others I have suffered the past year [comes] from overconfidence in C. Robinson who authorized me to buy lands but leaves me to pay for them not even coming near me but avoiding me as if he was afraid of hearing the truth. I have never known such cold blooded ingratitude before. I have placed unbounded confidence in him and he has shown as boundless a disregard of honor, gratitude and honesty.

Monday 8th November 1858

Health improving, but am confined to my room. Last night I slept sweetly and without sweat—a providential blessing for I had prayed to God that he would grant me a sweet and refreshing nights sleep—and that prayer was answered. I was amazed and transported with agreeable emotions at this unexpected change.

Thursday 18th November 1858

Attended a meeting of the citizens of Quindaro which I understand was called with a view to consider projects for the future welfare of the town, but I was satisfied from the composition of the meeting that no good could result from its action and therefore left it at an early hour. The meeting was held at Alfred Gray's office. Charles Robinson who was to have been there skulked off as he always does when any responsibility may be thrust upon him.

Saturday 20th November 1858

Mr Alfred Gray was here wanting me to agree as a member of the Quindaro Co. to release Mrs Nichols from the payment of five hundred dollars which she owes the Co. on the condition that she will edit and conduct "The Chindowan" for one year, which it is proposed to revive. The agreement with Mrs Nichols is to terminate at the end of any quarter; provided other arrangements shall be made for the publication of the paper, in which case we are only to release her in proportion to the time she acts as Editor.

Wednesday 9th March 1859

Today am I forty five years old—long eventful years, fruitful of troubles to myself—of benefits to others! My acts misunderstood, my words distorted, my motives impugned. Others claim the rewards of my labors and history seems disposed to favor the fraud, but I have an abiding confidence in the justice of that overruling Power who shapes the destinies of man.

Tuesday 15th March 1859

Started to hunt my grey pony, Fanny, and called at Frank Cotter's

to get Thomas Crooks to go with me as he wants to buy the pony but he was not there and I rode out to "Young America" a grog shop a mile further on where it was supposed I could find him, but he had left. Such a scene as this "grocery" exhibited I never before beheld—Indian women and men were lying about as if a battle had been fought and these were the slain, some yet stood, others leaned against whatever they could sieze upon and others were reeling about, all the victims of whiskey. This "hell" is kept by a white man who it is reported steals from and robs these wretched votaries of Bacchus. This sink of iniquity is on one of the public highways, and yet no effort is made to abate it. Our laws are said to be defective in this respect which may account for this shameful neglect of a vital moral duty. . . .

Monday 4th April, 1859.

Capt. Parks died about 6 O' clock last night. He was tho't to be about 66 years old. He has been for several years, Head Chief of the Shawnees but General Cass, who employed him as interpreter when in the Indian service, stated in a speech in the U. S. Senate in 1853 while a Shawnee claim was under discussion that Parks, then in Washington was a pure white man and had been captured by the Indians when very young. But among the Shawnees he claimed to be of Shawnee extraction and the claim was universally acknowledged. He was plausible, shrewd, unscrupulous and avaricious and had accumulated a fortune of sixty or seventy thousand dollars. . .

Saturday, 9th April, 1859.

I remarked that the debt was not mine and I would not pay it. He said he would sue me immediately and I told him to do so. This note was given for lands bo't for C. Robinson & others and Robinson was to give his note, on which I was to go as security, and my note was to be returned to me. After I had given the note however Robinson avoided the fulfillment of his promise and thus I am held responsible for his debt. I told Smith, Robinson's confidential tool that I wished to settle this and other matters amicably but settled they must be, and I am led to believe from Smith's remarks that Robinson will not pay unless compelled, showing that he is a swindler of the worst stamp.

Monday 23rd May, 1859.

Went to Quindaro where I met Charles Robinson. The cool villainy of this man would be incredible did I not witness such repeated evidences of it. About thirty months ago he left with me \$700 to buy a piece of land for him and I gave him a receipt for the money. The land belonged to Isaac W. Zane and lies in Missouri opposite Quindaro; the price was \$1400 and he required \$800 in hand; this I paid him advancing \$100 of my own money and gave my note for the remaining \$600 payable in one year, Robinson being absent. I had therefore to secure myself by taking the Bond for a deed in my own name. To-day when I saw him in the Q. Co's office his man Chapin presented the bond to me with an assignment written on the back of it which he requested me to sign—this assignment conveyed all my right to Robinson and authorized Zane to make him a deed, Robinson remarking at the same time that he would take up my note and close up the whole business, but said nothing of the \$700 receipt or the \$100 advanced! When I mentioned these things he said he had given me credit on the books and probably destroyed my receipt! but the books were examined and no credit [had been] given! His design was evidently to get the title to the land perfected to have me pay the note of \$600 and when time should favor, present my receipt and compel me or my estate to pay it also! The \$100 he seemed to consider already safe in his pocket!

After the repeated acts of treachery and ingratitude of which he is guilty this proposition would seem more like a premeditated insult than the trap of a cunning scoundrel. Yet this is his peculiar plan of operations—he assumes that people will regard him as above suspicion; pretends great ignorance and simplicity in business; to entrust the care of his affairs to others who have no character to sustain nor reputation to lose; he is in fact a perfect *confidence man* with a more than ordinary amount of cunning.

Tuesday 7th June, 1859

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Attended the Election for two Delegates to the convention to frame a State constitution. I voted for one free State man and one Democrat because I knew the other *professedly* free State man W. Y. Roberts was dishonest and has heretofore abused and betrayed the confidence

reposed in him. I believe a government is safer in the hands of a good man professing bad principles than in the hands of a bad man professing good principles, because the former will endeavor to have good results flowing from his administration while the latter expects his name and profession to paliate and cover up his corrupt and tyrannical government. Besides I would prefer at this moment, the Democrats should form the Constitution in which they will be compelled to yield much to the proslavery party which will make their constitution so objectionable that the people will vote it down, and then we will remain in our Territorial condition a year or two longer which I most devoutly desire for we are not only not able to support a State government, but the demagogues who now lead the Republican party, would doubtless get all the offices of trust and profit, which would involve us in debts and difficulties for years to come. In two or three years more these men will sink to their proper level and honest men may be found to manage our public affairs.

Sunday 12th June, 1859.

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A pleasant Sabbath day, family at church, I at home until near evening I rode down to William Walker's but he was not at home. Saw a strange assemblage of Germans from the neighboring towns, near Mr ——— Stewart's (the gardener) men, women and children making merry they had a drum, a brass band, a bar for the sale of lager beer, and sang and danced till night. They said they were celebrating in the old Country style, this particular sunday probably in honor of some good old Saint. . . .

Friday 17th June, 1859

Mr Guthrie and her sister Margaret rode to the payment and I walked, a distance of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Apparently but few Wyandots were present, as they were lost in the multitude of whites most of whom had claims on Indians. Some honest and many I believe utterly dishonest. It is alleged by the Indians themselves that they have paid the same debts several times but have received no credits nor took receipts. Some of them however having learned the value of receipts demanded them on making full payments and in a few instances have disconcerted and disappointed their creditors by exhibiting their re-

ceipts when dunned; others have unfortunately lost them, and these and those having none were threatened with a lawsuit (of which they are much afraid) unless they should satisfy the demands against them. If the Indians are to be believed, thousands of dollars are thus fraudulently obtained. Will a just retribution overtake these dishonest creditors?

Wednesday 29th June, 1859.

Met C. Robinson with whom I had some plain talk about the management of the Quindaro Co's affairs and about his own acts. He is a thorough villain, cool, calculating, heartless, ungrateful and audacious.

Thursday 25th August, 1859.

Went to Quindaro in the evening and received two letters, one from Isaac Strohm my brotherinlaw; the other from Chas. W. Wingard of Lockhaven Chester County, Pennsylvania; the former enclosing one from Mrs Anna Guthrie, my stepmother announcing the illness of my father who it seems attained his seventy-fifth year on the 19th day of this month. Strange that I should never have heard his age before! These letters are coldly formal and convey no intimation that my revered father has mentioned my name on his sick bed, or in any way evinced a desire to see me. Yet I know he can not dislike me, nor can I think otherwise than that my presence would be agreeable to him. I ought to be there and I do most earnestly desire to attend him in his last sickness, but I have not the money to carry me thither. I know the worst construction would be placed upon my hasty visit by the expectant friends who surround him, and this would be a sad drawback upon the satisfaction I would otherwise feel in a faithful discharge of my filial duties. My father is one of the best men I ever knew—I should say the best; strictly honest in all his dealings, and honorable in all his feelings. The uppermost traits in his character are properly alluded to by Mr Strohm, who says "His ruling traits for kindnesses, desire for the hospitable treatment of the visitors at his house, and reluctance to appear troublesome, are strongly shown in his deportment now." I do pray to God that he may live many years in perfect health of body and mind not only on his own

account but on mine for I wish to have it in my power to smooth and gladden his future years with the means of a free exercise of his benevolence and munificence. No man ever enjoyed the performance of a good act more than he.

Monday 12th September, 1859.

Started early and entered the Mississippi river 10 O'clock A. M. passing St. Charles at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 8 O'clock A. M. I never pass St. Charles without looking at the "Convent of the Sacred Heart" with mingled feelings of interest and indignation for it was the home for two years of my little girls Abalura and Norsona. As their education had been almost entirely neglected I was anxious that their studies should be confined to the common branches of a good English education. But the ladies wished to give them lessons in music and drawing and I was surprised [to] find charges for these studies. I again forbade it but the ladies were very importunate and had the children write letters urging me to give my consent to have them take lessons in music and drawing. And when Mrs Guthrie visited her children they obtained her consent and thus the useful branches of their education were much neglected and they returned home very little improved in intellectual culture. Their bills for clothing were also enormous, and I afterwards learned that the nuns induced them to give up their clothing when the least sullied and sometimes on the pretext that it had become too small for them. This clothing was either sold or given to the poor so that these nuns enjoy a fine reputation in St. Charles for their large charities. People little know and indeed as little care, that they rob their pupils or rather their wards that they may indulge their display of liberality. Strange that these people having abjured the vanities of the world should be so avaricious and so ambitious of securing the approbation of the outside world. They knew that they were deceiving me in relation to my children's studies and best interests and in regard to the expense incurred for clothing.

Tuesday 13th September, 1859.

Left Dayton at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 O'clock A. M. and arrived at my father's at 11 A. M. finding my father improved in health for which I thank God with devout gratitude. But my father did not know me and

when told who I was he said "Why Abelard you look old!" Alas he little knew what agony of mind the Kansas swindlers had given me! and how cares and troubles multiply the tracks of time!

Friday 16th September 1859.

Pa seemed very restless last night and I overheard him from my room complaining that he was very unhappy ending with the words "I fear, I fear, I fear." "Grandmother" his second wife, replied very calmly "I did not know it, my dear. I thought you were very happy." He was silent. What was the cause of his uneasiness I could not imagine as he talks to me very little—never about his condition either of body or mind.

Jim [his brother, or half brother, James Andrews] told me some strange things about this "Grandma" who it seems is a very shrewd selfish woman. Shortly after her marriage with Pa he went to Dayton at a time when the waters were very much swollen by recent rains and he was not able to return the same night, a very unusual thing with him; she was very much alarmed at his absence and feared he had been drowned and *had left no will*; and immediately on his return she insisted on his making a will in view of the uncertainty of life. He yielded to her wishes, and it was supposed all was satisfactory. But in his recent illness when his life was despaired of she prevailed on him to make another will by which she is made his sole heir! So far as I am concerned I care not a cent; but there are others who are entitled to kindly remembrances, they have loved and served him well; but God who orders all things right will not permit the consummation of this wrong.

Saturday 17th September, 1859.

Heard the distinguished Abraham Lincoln of Illinois make a speech on the slavery question. He is an able clear headed man, but not an agreeable speaker. His speeches appear to better advantage in print than in their delivery. . . .

Monday 19th September, 1859.

I stay to-night at the "City Hotel" kept by W^m Atkinson When I wanted to go to my room he looked at his register for my name and

then said "There had been a person of that name in Dayton a few years ago he was a dark looking fellow a lawyer, had gone North married a Squaw emigrated to Nebraska was a member of Congress &c. He seemed never to suspect that he might be talking to and about the same individual and he was rattling along with my history at a rate and with such a mixture of truth and falsehood I was constrained to make my bow in the midst of his interesting revelations.

Saturday 14th January, 1860.

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This morning I discovered that George had taken the bark off from one of the finest linden trees in my park, to bottom an old chair with. I have not lately been so hurt and irritated and I told him I had rather he had burnt all the chairs I had than have killed that fine tree. The thing has oppressed my mind all day even when I was not thinking about it, I *felt* that there was something that distressed me without being able at the moment to remember it. I had, too, repeatedly told him not to touch a tree in that grove. How little above the brute is a man who will wantonly disfigure any of God's glorious handiwork!

Friday 16th February, 1860.

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Rec'd a letter from my sister Eloisa informing me of the death of our sister Eliza Stevens. This news most painful and unexpected fills my whole soul with the saddest thoughts. I saw her but a few months ago in excellent health and spirits looking forward to years of serene enjoyment and these alas! had but commenced when the dread summons came and life with all its promised joys was exchanged for the silence and gloom of the grave. Ah what an exchange! The gloom of the grave extends even to me and my heart is heavy and my soul is sick with its dampness and darkness and the powers of the mind are subject to the emotions of the heart. I am without thought and my whole being seems lost in a vague, indefinite and inexplicable feeling of profound sadness, not only embracing the death of my dear sister, but her whole life, for alas! that life brings up its mournful history and strews its joyless memories around her grave! Adieu my sister always beloved and as long to be mourned.

Monday January 6th 1862.

[Mr. Guthrie was in Washington City at that time.]

Had some conversation with F. P. Stanton who is contesting Genl. Lane's right to a seat in the Senate. Mr Stanton assures me he has [an] understanding with Gov. Robinson whereby his action as Senator would be governed, and will feel himself at full liberty to take care of the interests of other sections of the State than those in which Robinson is especially interested, and to persons opposed to Robinson. Should Lane leave the Senate I would certainly prefer Stanton to any of those now spoken of for the succession. . . .

Wednesday January 8th, 1862.

Listened awhile to a debate in the Senate on the contested case between Lane and Stanton. It is one in which an honest difference of opinion may be entertained, but with the facts as I understand them I should vote for the admission of Stanton to the seat, otherwise the provision of the Constitution designed to guard against executive influence with members of Congress by making the acceptance of office under the Executive a disqualification for a Seat in the Senate [———]. True General Lane's appointment was not authorized by law, but that instead of favoring his cause should weaken it, because the president might find frequent occasion for gratifying the ambition of Senators by these marks of favor

Called to see Mr Dawes, chairman of the Committee of Elections to which my claim for mileage and *per diem* as delegate from Nebraska was referred and he encouraged me to hope for success saying the Committee thought favorably of the claim but wanted to be prepared to defend it before the house. . . .

Thursday 9th [January 1862]

Spent 2 or 3 hours with Col. Sims formerly of Missouri but now of Kansas. I urged upon him (he has much influence with Missouri members of Congress) to get the members of Congress from Missouri & Kentucky to meet and devise some means whereby we may be able to restore peace to the country. Kentucky and Missouri at this time control the administration; and if their delegations in Congress should

agree upon some practicable decisive plan of action, I have no doubt it would be successful. But I am convinced that any scheme to receive the necessary support of the people at large must look to the ultimate extinction of slavery. . . .

Friday 10th January, 1862.

M^r Pomeroy told me M^r Dawes of the House had expressed an opinion to him adverse to my claim for mileage and per diem. This is very different from what he led me to believe when I called to see him two or three evenings back. There is a want of manliness, of honor and justice in eastern men that will always run counter to the better qualities of the western heart. And even the Republican party as such are constrained by the same narrowness of views which transcends its action defeats its objects, and disappoints the country. I have performed an important service for my country and now the very men who are reaping the rich fruits of that service hesitate to pay me the usual wages for it!

Heard Dr. Cheever, of New York, deliver a lecture in the Smithsonian Institution on the subject of slavery and our duties and relations to it. It was a terrible denunciation of the policy of the administration and military men; yet its truthfulness could hardly be controverted. His views of our duty under the constitution were in some respects new to me but were maintained with much ingenuity if not ability. He advocated the immediate abolition of slavery and the conquest of the rebellious States. I would have preferred the gradual emancipation of the slaves but the terrible alternative forced upon us by the rebellion of either losing the Territory altogether or of liberating the slaves and thereby undoing that worthless and even dangerous [———] which has at the same time been the cause and the sinews of the war. The French assembly in their first declaration, to intimidate the German princes said, "That it was not with fire and sword they meant to attack their territories but by what would be *more dreadful* to them the introduction of liberty." See Edmund Burke's works vol. 4, page 52. This would to some extent overturn the social order, but I do not think this evil could be of long duration. The amalgamation of the races; the absorption of the African by the Anglo-Saxon or rather the white race would probably be more rapid than now as a much larger white population would

soon fill those States; whites from all the States and all countries who now and for many years were afraid to seek homes in the South because of the savage despotism that everywhere prevailed there.

This morning I handed Senator Pomeroy of Kansas a resolution which I wished him to introduce into the Senate, but which he probably will not do; it is this:

Resolved, that the Committee on the Judiciary be directed to enquire into the expediency of making provision by law for the payment annually for a period of twenty years an amount of money equal to ten dollars per capita of the slave population as shown by the census of 1860, to such of the so called slave States in proportion to the number of slaves contained in each, as shall establish a system of emancipation whereby slavery shall cease to exist within twenty years.

But on further reflection I think this bounty should only be given to the loyal States even though but nominally so. As for the others I now think the abolition of the system should be immediate and unconditional, both as a means of stopping the war and as a punishment for the rebellion. And I think the slaves should be armed and permitted to take a part in the conflict. If we do not use more vigorous means to put down the rebellion the new government it has set up will be recognized by the European powers, which they are *all* anxious to do because the principles of our government like those of the French revolution are penetrating into every nation of Europe and undermining the thrones of their rulers. The continuance of our present form of government with its territorial integrity, will finally overthrow the monarchies of Europe. We should not deceive ourselves by their pretended sympathy or friendship. They will attack us as soon as they have prepared the public mind of Europe for it and are fully apprised of our own impotency, which is not yet fully demonstrated.

Saturday 11th January 1862

In the Library of Congress I examined a volume of the Washington Union and discovered my old circular when first sent as delegate from Nebraska (now Kansas) It is in the Union of 18th January 1853 part 1st

Sunday 12th January 1862

In my room all day reading and writing a pamphlet on the subject

of our present troubles and dangers; . . . I feel well pleased with it so far, and think it contains at least as much good sense as I find in most of the speeches in Congress.

Monday 13th January 1862

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Discovered that all my papers refered by Genl. Lane to the Com. on Indian Affairs had been refered to sub committees. Lane had assured me he would have them refered to himself and fairly examined but he deceived me in this as in everything else. He has treated me with the grossest ingratitude and injustice. His duplicity has greatly endangered the loss of my claims. Yet people are crazy with adulation of this insincere, egotistical, ungrateful demagogue for that is his true character.

Thursday 16th January 1862

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Genl. Lane advised me to get Mr Samuel V. Niles an Attorney to attend to my business. This would not have been necessary had he attended to his business as Senator or redeemed his promises as friend. Mr Niles, I believe was his Attorney in the Jenkins contested land claim, and he probably pays him by giving him other business. I went to see Mr Niles and left my papers with him and he is to have them examined by morning and give his opinion of the case.

Saturday 18th January 1862

Went with Genl. Lane, Maj. Abbot & Mr Niles to the Indian Office and heard Mr Niles read the statements of Abbott and Matthew King in explanation of the part they took in the Clark & Hall swindle among the Shawnees; also the argument of Mr Niles in defence of Maj. Abbott. The papers were prepared with skill and ability and may save Maj. Abbott from removal, but I fear the case will not stop there and that Maj. Abbott will be ruined in the end. The Shawnees were evidently swindled out of about \$18,000 by Clark & Hall, which Maj. Abbott as Indian Agent should have prevented. I have hitherto regarded Maj. Abbott as an honest man and I have no doubt he was imposed on by this Clark who is represented as a great rogue. I sincerely hope Maj. Abbott will be able to escape

from this difficulty and yet I dont see how he can unless Clark & Hall will refund the money which now seems improbable.

I have been to see Mr Niles and finally agreed to give him twenty per cent of all he can obtain on My Wife's claim, except the land on which he is to charge nothing. This is rather a bad bargain, but I believe members of Congress form partnerships here with claims agents and will give no attention to the business of a constituent unless it first goes through one of these mills. Whether the toll is then divided or not it is impossible to say, but I have no doubt it is. They would probably not enter into such an arrangement with a constituent because the danger of exposure would be much greater. People in Washington City who never saw Kansas and care nothing for her interests monopolize more of time, are treated with more consideration and have more influence with our Senators than I have, and it is not improbable other constituents are treated in the same manner but to me it [is] peculiarly ungrateful for these men all owe to me their elevation. . . .

Sunday January 19th 1862.

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Called to see Col. Sims of Kansas formerly of Missouri. He told me [he] had overheard a conversation between a Mr ——— reporter of the Philadelphia Press and a Mrs Winslow who claims to be the wife of Col. Winslow now in the service of the United States on the Potomac, in which were discussed the prospects of the rebellion, both are earnest secessionists and expressed their confidence that Genl. McClellan is with them and other officers were also named as ready to betray the cause of the Union at the first favorable moment! The very walls of this accursed city breathe treason! Yet our stupidly credulous President is pouring out the treasure of the country in the full belief that he is re-establishing the authority of the Government while the rebels actually command both armies! My God! can human wickedness go farther! Has God abandoned this country to the powers of hell! What enormous unpardonable sin has brought upon us this degradation, this utter depravity! I shall again see Col. Sims to learn if any thing can be done to meet and defeat this foul plot to utterly ruin the best government ever established by the wisdom and courage of man.

Genl. Lane and family started to Kansas The Genl. is a great

lion here and his room is always filled with visitors, at this moment there is not a man in Washington more sought after. The Genl. aims at the Presidency although some hints are thrown out that his Southern expedition is designed to establish his power permanently in the Indian Country or Texas. It would not surprise me if ambitious military men would endeavor to break up the Union to secure each a fragment wherein to fix himself in power. Yet I hardly think the scheme can succeed. The people at large nor the soldiers are not prepared for such gigantic treachery and ingratitude. I think there is good reason to believe that many of them dream of "Kingdoms, crowns and regal sway." I can not understand on what other principle our armies are so large and inefficient. May a terribly just retribution speedily overwhelm the conspirators!

Wednesday January 22d 1862

Have been in my room most of the day reading speeches on the charge of treason against Senator Bright. It seems to me very clear even from Mr B's own answers to questions addressed to him that he is more the enemy than the friend of his country and is an unsafe man to be in the councils of the nation. Just such men have brought upon us our present calamities. And love of country and fidelity to its government should be an indispensable qualification of a public officer and even the private citizen who is deficient in these virtues should be regarded with suspicion and aversion.

Col. Sims spent an hour or so with me this evening. He says Mr^s Winslow refered to Sunday last is the Sister of Roger A. Prior late a Member of Congress from Virginia. . . .

Thursday January 23rd 1862.

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Went to see Mr Niles, (who it seems is a grandson of Hezekiah Niles who published "Niles' Register" which I believe was the first newspaper I ever saw,) to hand him some memoranda of precedents in favor of Mr^s Guthrie's claim. Mr Niles thinks the prospect of success favorable.

Thursday 30th January, 1862.

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Called to see Hon. M. F. Conway. Mr Wilson of the Senate's

Committee on Military Affairs moved in the Senate to have the Chair appoint a member to fill the place of Mr Lane of Kansas and the motion was agreed to. I inferred from this that Lane would not return to the Senate and went to see Mr Conway to have him go to Mr Doolittle Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs and request him to make the same motion in reference to Genl. Lane's place in the Com on Indian Affairs, and to ask the appointment of Genl. Pomeroy to succeed Lane. Conway objected to having it done immediately as it was uncertain about Lane's going into the army, and would be displeased with this premature removal. My object was to anticipate the movement by some one else and to secure the place for Pomeroy in whom as a Senator I have great confidence. He is industrious and faithful and we greatly need such a man on that Committee; although Lane would suit me very well and may perhaps have more influence but Pomeroy is more reliable and attentive to business. However Conway said he would see Mr Doolittle in the morning and have him keep the Committee as it is until Lane is heard from and in the event of Lane's resigning to have Pomeroy appointed. Lane is certainly acting very strangely if not insanely. Constantly beset by an army of sycophants who pander to his vanity and obey his behests he turns a cold shoulder to old and real friends. No man that does this can long enjoy the confidence and respect of any class of men for the sycophant loves new idols, and the earnest man will not long be trifled with and then the ungrateful man is deserted and prostrated. Pomeroy made a good remark last night; he said "I will take care of my friends and they and I can take care of my enemies."

Saturday 1st February, 1862.

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In my room most of the day writing my pamphlet on the condition and prospects of the country. If I can get it published soon I think it will be conceded to have some merit. I have not yet fixed on a title. . . .

Sunday 2nd February, 1862.

Finished my pamphlet on the condition and dangers of our government but will yet have to make corrections and a more methodical arrangement of the topics.

Monday 3rd February, 1862.

Received my Indian Territory bill which I had forgotten at home and for which I wrote to Mr Newman. He sent it with a few lines to Genl. Pomeroy.

Dropped a note in the Post Office for Mr Wattles requesting him to come and see me. He also is trying to have the Indian Country covered by a territorial Government and we agreed to compare our respective plans and prepare a bill from the better features of each.

At home most of the day reading and writing my pamphlet which I have entitled "*On the difficulties and dangers that beset the Nation*" or rather I have spent a part of the day in correcting it.

Tuesday 4th February 1862.

Mailed a letter I wrote yesterday to James H. Lane urging him to return to the Senate. Genl. Lane has a thirst for military fame because it is the kind that administers most extravagantly to his insatiable love of honors. I have great doubt of his real desire to command the expedition to Texas. But by *not* having his wishes complied with he enjoys the *eclat* of attempting to make a great sacrifice to save the country; and of increasing public confidence in his military talents, which are indeed of a very low order, except in these very essential qualities of vigilance and discretion. Lane wishes to keep himself perpetually in the public eye, and he is undecided how to accomplish it. . . .

Wednesday 5th February, 1862.

Mr Augustus Wattles of Kansas called to see me and I read to him my bill for the establishment of a Territorial government for the Indian Country south of Kansas. He appeared to be satisfied with its provisions but took it to examine it more at his leisure. He also has a bill prepared for the same purpose and will bring it tomorrow and we are to compare the two together and determine which shall be presented to the committee.

Mr Willis Gaylord called to see me in relation to my claims for pay and mileage as delegate, and I agreed to give him twenty per cent to attend to the business for me rather than suffer the delay which I see is purposely occasioned to get a fee for somebody. Mr G.

is a brother to M^{rs} Pomeroy and it seems is in partnership with a M^r Edward Clark a fact I did not know before; nor was I at all aware that he was engaged in the business of presenting claims.

Saturday 8th February, 1862.

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To-day I learn that the war is hereafter to be under the immediate direction of the President through his Secretary of war without the intervention of the highest officer in the army, (now McClellan) as has hitherto been the practice. Of this course I heartily approve for I have long doubted the loyalty and ability of McClellan, besides too much deference has been paid to these professional military men, who generally lack sound judgment so all important to success in all the pursuits of life, and perhaps most of any in military life.

The foreign news this evening is that the French Emperor would declare his intention to interfere in our civil war, to his Legislative Council on the 27th ultimo. This I have long looked for but it is not only the French Monarch but he will be backed by England and all the European governments for there is evidently a combination among them which has for its object the overthrow of this government because of its republican form and institutions. It will be a war of political systems as indeed it already is. The South seeking to consolidate its power in the hands of the few and to assimilate its form of government to those of Europe will naturally enlist their sympathies, as it already has done, and very soon secure their alliances offensive and defensive. If we are true to ourselves, however and exert but a moiety of the courage and self denial of our revolutionary ancestors we will come forth from the terrible struggle a better wiser and more powerful nation than before. God grant us these high virtues in such perfection as the emergency demands!

Sunday 9th February, 1862

Called to see Hon. M. F. Conway and talked with him nearly an hour about our National troubles. M^r C. voted against the passage of the bill making U. S. notes a legal tender and I cordially approve of this vote. But M^r C. has some views in regard to our future policy that I cannot endorse. He thinks if France, (as she now threatens) breaks our blockade which I would regard as a declaration of

war and acknowledges the independence of the "Southern Confederacy [""] as it is called that we should acquiesce. I differ from him entirely in this regard for I believe if we should have to raise an army of a million of men it is our duty, and indeed our only hope of salvation, to do it and fight combined Europe as I have no doubt we shall have to do, on our own soil, and I have no doubt we can do it successfully and crush the rebellion besides. . . .

Monday 10th February, 1862

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Mr Wattles spent the evening with me in comparing our respective plans for the organization of the Indian Country south of Kansas for the especial use of the Indians. I think his plan is crude and not equal to the necessities of the object. Last summer at the extra session of Congress I prepared a bill for this purpose, but Genl. Lane whom I wanted to present it to the Senate was opposed to organize a government over any territory for Indian settlement exclusively. His wish was to destroy the Indian not to civilize him. I think under a mild and simple government with laws executed by themselves the Indians might under the fostering care of the United States, become a united and homogeneous people, and in time form a valuable State of the Union. Without a measure of this kind they must soon become extinct. I am well pleased with the attention Mr Wattles gives the matter, but his plans seem ill-digested and ill-judged.

Tuesday, 11 February, 1862

Mr Wattles has been here much of the day perfecting his territorial bill. But withal I think it a bungling piece of work and have no idea Congress will pass it in the form he has now got it. I have made a good many suggestions which he adopted but still it does not please me. . . .

Thursday 13th February, 1862

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Mr Wattles left on My table a copy of the N. Y. Tribune containing an article against erecting an exclusively Indian State south of Kansas. The article was probably written by Mrs Lucy B. Armstrong. Mr Wattles wanted me to answer it and I accordingly wrote the greater part of a reply, but feel to dull too finish it.

Thursday 20th February, 1862.

Handed Mr Augustus Wattles my reply to "Yarahkonehta" in the N. Y. Tribune. The writer is supposed to be Mrs Lucy B. Armstrong and urges some plausible but erroneous reasons against the organization of the Indian Territory south of Kansas. I have endeavored to answer these objections. The article is not well written and should have been carefully corrected. . . .

Saturday 22nd February, 1862.

Today was to have been a gala day for the double purpose of celebrating the birth of Washington and our recent victories over the rebels. The former is entitled to all the honors which a grateful nation can bestow, but the rejoicing over the latter is premature. Celebrations should only be accorded to those events great or small in themselves which have an important agency in producing a desired consumation, and should therefore be reserved until the crowning act is performed. We can all *feel* the inspiration and confidence these victories should produce but our open manifestations of joy should be restrained until the possibility of defeat and disaster shall entirely disappear. We have now arrived at the critical point when a little *treachery* may overturn the whole fabric of our hopes founded on the brilliant events of the last few days. And I greatly fear that treachery is even now doing its accursed work. Else why should the immense army of the Potomac lie idle and permit the rebels to withdraw their forces and use them against our little armies in North Carolina and Tennessee? These armies are performing the most signal service and if backed by our army on the Potomac would soon end the war. This deliberate treachery, (as I believe it to be) is exciting public criticism and suspicion, and there seems to be a general inclination to demand a forward movement of the armies of the Potomac; but may not treachery be as successful in moving forward as in lying still? and may it not be even more fatal to the interests of the country? I confess I see no hope of safety but in the removal of McClellan from the chief command of the army, and the appointment of a true man in his place. Who this "true man" should be is a question of most difficult solution, but *any* truly loyal man would be preferable to this doubtful one. . . .

Thursday, 27th February, 1862.

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Hearing Genl. Lane had again telegraphed to his friends here to make another effort to secure to him the command of the army supposed to be destined for Texas. These persistent efforts to secure a position never promised him and in violation of army regulations without any good reason has very much lessened the confidence and respect he had hitherto enjoyed both here and in Kansas. There seems to me a species of insanity in some of this man's eccentricities. He has treated me both discourteously and ungratefully. But I have borne these things in silence but I feel that his protracted absence from his duties as Senator is a serious wrong to Kansas. . . . I shall now try to have his place on the Com. of Indian Affairs filled by the appointment of Genl. Pomeroy. . . .

Sunday 2nd March, 1862.

Snow fell to the depth of 2 or 3 inches, and I have remained in the house all day reading very little and talking less. In the evening however, I had quite an animated conversation with Mrs Thompson a boarder, and the sister-in-law of Genl. Waddy Thompson of South Carolina. She professes strong Union sentiments and has some employment from the Government, but defends the intolerance, virulence, and despotism of the South. The views she entertains or expresses in regard to the rights of northern men who become citizens of the South accord with the true spirit of slavery every where and are clearly in conflict with the guaranties of the Constitution. She insists that no anti-slavery man has a right to express opinions unfriendly to the institution of slavery; that if any one entertains such opinions he must suppress them or leave the slave States. This is the evil spirit with which we are now at war and against which we are sending our immense armies.

Thursday 6th March 1862.

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Spent an hour with Genl. Pomeroy. He signed a recommendation for Moses B. Newman's appointment to an Indian Agency in Kansas expecting to get for him the Delaware Agency. Genl. Pomeroy also agreed to have the Pacific Railroad bill altered so as to make Quindaro a point. He agreed to introduce and have passed the bill

M^r Wattles and myself have been preparing to establish a Territorial Government exclusively for Indians over the present Indian Country South of Kansas. . . .

Friday 7th March 1862

In the proceedings of Congress as published in the Daily Globe is a short message from the President conveying a *resolution* which he recommends Congress in substance to pass. It is worth remembering that on the 10th of January of this year I handed to Senator Pomeroy a *Resolution* which I wished him to present to the Senate having in view the same object now recommended by the President and my resolution differs only from his in being more specific.

Saturday 8th March 1862

Bo't two copies N. Y. Tribune containing my article on the subject of the organization of a new Indian Territory South of Kansas.

Sunday 9th March 1862

Today I complete my forty eighth year and enter upon my forty ninth. . . . It seems strange that a man should live so long and accomplish so little. Yet my course has not been a barren one. Few men have performed acts out of which more important events have grown. The successful effort to establish a government for Nebraska (now Kansas) originated with me and under most discouraging circumstances, and out of this act sprung the republican party and the wonderful events that have followed in such quick succession. And though I get but little credit for this now, history must and will do me justice.

I start upon the new year with bright hopes and much confidence dashed only by the lowering clouds that overhang the political horizon. I have painful forebodings of disaster near at hand. It is generally understood that our great armies of the Potomac march against the traitors tomorrow although a general battle may not take place for a day or two after. I have all confidence in the courage of our men, in their numbers and equipments, but I have no confidence in their principal officers, such as McClellan, McDowell nor indeed in any man from the military school at West Point. Far better would it be for this country had that institution never existed. It is the nucleus around

which will gather the enemies of free government and it has and always will instil into the minds of its pupils sentiments favorable to the establishment of independent hereditary orders in the State. I regard this institution as more dangerous to the liberties of this country than African slavery itself, and henceforth I shall devote what time I can to its abolition.

To day I have prayed again and again most earnestly for the success of our armies in the coming battles. In God I trust and He alone can defeat the treachery which I fear is meditated against us. He alone knows the hearts of all men and can disappoint their wicked schemes. May He remember us in this our day of terrible trial!

M^{rs} Thompson sisterinlaw of Genl. Waddy Thompson of South Carolina told me to-day that a Secession female friend of hers told her yesterday that the "Confederates" (rebels) would be victorious in the great battles so soon to be fought; that all Richmond is full of confidence in the result. It seems this "Secession friend" gets letters regularly from her sister in Richmond Virginia communicating important information and no doubt receiving the same in return. How this correspondence is kept up is a mystery although this Secession friend said she received them through Fortress Monroe. M^{rs} Thompson professes to be a Unionist.

Called to see Genl. James H. Lane who has just returned with his family from Kansas.

Borrowed "Principles and Acts of the Revolution" by Hezekiah Niles from his grandson Samuel V. Niles. This book I have been long wanting to get and this is the first copy I have seen.

Monday 10 March, 1862.

It is now stated upon apparently good authority that the rebels have abandoned and retreated from all their strong holds about Washington while for the last two or three days our hopes and fears have been excited to the highest pitch by mighty preparations for a great battle and while this very farce is being enacted the prompters in it must have well known there would be no enemy to fight.

Tuesday 11th March, 1862.

It is now ascertained that the rebels have abandoned their reputed

strong holds at Manassas. That they should thus have been permitted to escape will be a wonder to the world but it confirms what I have long believed that our army of the Potomac is controlled by traitors who have an understanding with the rebels. These men may have found it impracticable for many reasons to yield a victory to the rebels and rather than capture their force or meet them in battle, it was understood that the cause of the Union could be more seriously damaged by the rebels withdrawing and striking a blow when superior numbers might give them a victory. The whole management of the war on the Potomac is without a parallel in all history for imbecility, treachery, cowardice and extravagance. Should the retreating rebels not attack Genl. Banks or Genl. Burnside, the probabilities I think are that the war is in a great degree ended, and the retreat was probably prompted by a consciousness of a sinking cause.

Saturday 15th March 1862.

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 Called upon Genl. Lane to talk with him about Indian claims I had entrusted to his management, but he was very taciturn, only saying he would now attend to my business. This is indeed all as a business man I could ask, but his whole manner was cold and destitute of cordiality. I felt indignant at this manifestation of indifference and perhaps should have expressed it; but Lane either is or affects to be deeply wounded by the explosion of his military projects he doubtless *does* feel the apparent and comparative neglect of the swarms of sycophants who clustered around him when he had offices to bestow and glory in prospect. I have more than once cautioned him against the selfishness and hypocrisy of these flatterers and I trust his comparative solitude will now lead him to a juster estimate of his real friends.

Sunday 16th March 1862.

Prepared the following amendment to be placed on the Indian appropriation bill, and handed it to Augustus Wattles with the request that he would get some member of the Senate's committee on Indian Affairs to have it put in that bill. I should have done it myself but I have so much business before that committee that I am afraid of appearing too troublesome. This law I urged as essential to the protection of those poor creatures it is designed to benefit; for I have seen them

shamefully robbed among the Wyandots and among the Shawnees and I have no doubt it is done among all the tribes:

And be it further enacted, That the Secretary of the Interior be and he is hereby directed to cause settlements to be made with all persons appointed by Indian Councils to receive moneys due to incompetent or orphan Indians, and to require all moneys found to be due to said incompetent or orphan Indians to be returned to the Treasury of the United States, and moneys so returned shall bear six per cent interest until paid by order of said Secretary to those entitled to the same; and no moneys shall hereafter be paid to persons appointed by any Indian Council to receive moneys due to incompetent or orphan Indians, but the same shall remain in the Treasury of the United States until ordered to be paid by the said Secretary to those entitled to receive them, and shall bear six per cent interest until so paid.

Thursday 20th March, 1862

Called upon Genl. Lane who told me he would have the papers in the Wyandot cases referred to himself for examination and report tomorrow. Genl. Lane may act faithfully in his attention to my business but I have serious fears. Personally he treats me badly I have not seen one of his old enemies approach him who has not been treated with more cordiality. I have certainly done him some service when he needed it and did not expect such an exhibition of ingratitude. . .

Monday 24th March, 1862.

This evening I called to get Lane [to] assist me in getting the Wyandot papers into his hands so as to be able to report by Wednesday but he did not seem disposed to take any interest in the matter and treated me with marked neglect I shall not again go to his room. Both before his election and since he repeatedly assured me he would attend to any business I should have before Congress.

Wednesday 26th March, 1862.

In my room most of the day under the influence of medicine.

Mr Wattles spent an hour with me and informs me that there is a combination of men in power here to force the Indians in Kansas into treaties whereby their lands shall be secured to this association of Gov-

ernment officials. Senator James H. Lane of Kansas Commissioner Wm. P. Dole and Secretary Caleb B. Smith are said to be concerned in this cruel and gigantic system of fraud.

Mr Niles called to tell me that Genl. Lane assured him he would do all he could for Mrs Guthrie's claim and would see him this week again to look over the evidence. Mr N. insists that I must see Lane tomorrow and let him (Niles) know when Lane will see him. I dislike very much to call upon Lane his personal ill treatment of me has created a repugnance to visiting him which I shall feel it difficult to overcome.

Mr Blake & Rev. Mr Richmond called to see me. Mr Richmond is now Chaplain to one of the Wisconsin regiments, and a few years ago made some noise in the world by being imprisoned by the Austrian authorities in Hungary for, as he says, nothing more than some thoughtless expressions of sympathy for nations struggling for freedom. How long, at the present rate of travelling toward despotism, will it be till men shall be imprisoned in this country for like offenses? The imbecility of this administration is only equaled by its cruelty, its tyranny, and total disregard of law and every principle of justice. Are we really to have three years more of this execrable reign? This disgraceful rebellion might have been suppressed long ago and at half the expense already incurred, had it but suited the interests of those at the head of affairs to have done so.

Thursday 27th March, 1862.

Called to tell Mr. Niles that Genl. Lane would be at leisure this evening to examine the papers in Mrs G's case.

Mr Niles after seeing Genl. Lane called to see me and I agreed to give him five hundred dollars if he would get my Wyandot claims through at the same time as Mrs Guthrie's, to which he agreed. I have done this because I am not well enough to bear Lane's stupid indifference without retaliating which would probably get up ill blood and possibly cause him to oppose me, for he is sometimes governed by the merest trifles, and never by reason and justice except as he is importuned into it.

Friday 28th March, 1862.

Had a good deal of conversation with young Doolittle, clerk of the

Senate's Com. on Indian Affairs from which I learn Genl. Lane has never given the least attention to my business notwithstanding all his promises. The cool ingratitude and heartless stolidity of this man astounds me! And yet I must not tell him what I think of his conduct!

Monday 31st March, 1862.

Went with Judge Helfenstein to see Mr Campbell Chairman of the House Committee on the Pacific rail road. My object was to get Quinardo and Atchison named as points in the bill, but Mr C. says his Committee are unwilling to name any other point than the one now named Kansas City; this of course gives that town an immense advantage over all others and particularly in Kansas. Thus we see the revolting spectacle of men whom Kansas has made, for Kansas gave the Republican party to the world, enriching the enemies of the Government and the very men who resorted to every means fair and foul to drive the anti-slavery population of Kansas from their new homes, and I who made Kansas civilly and more remotely the Republican party am without influence among or benefit from the very men who owe all they are to the almost immediate results of my labors.

I read with feelings of the deepest grief and alarm an editorial in the Daily Globe of this city of this date advocating the establishment of a large standing army in this country. If this is to be the result of the subjugation of the rebels I have no hesitation in saying that it would have been better to yield their success without a struggle if that alternative would have exempted us from the curse of a standing army; but it would not. I only measure evils on the supposition that the acceptance of one would secure us against the other. I am satisfied the war was necessary to preserve the simplicity of our form of government; and if managed with but ordinary wisdom this would speedily have been attained. But with an imbecile head it is not strange that the same incompetency should pervade every branch of the public service.

April 1st Tuesday 1862

Mr Augustus Wattles came to see me and says some radical measure will be adopted in regard to the Indian tribes. At the extra Session of Congress in July last I prepared a bill setting apart the Indian country south of Kansas for the colonization and permanent home of

all the Indian tribes East of the Rocky Mountains but Senator Lane of Kansas (of whom I expected better things) opposed the measure—opposed any measure designed for their melioration; and would not present my bill except to oppose the policy. At this session Mr Wattles has also undertaken a similar project in behalf of the Indians, but we concluded it was better to wait until the next session of Congress. But it seems both friends and foes of the Indian are impatient to have something done for or with the Indians. I have therefore undertaken to prepare another bill with which I shall take more pains and much subsequent reflection will enable me to make it more perfect.

Sunday 6th March [April] 1862

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This evening I have written a letter to Horace Greeley about the dangers and troubles of the country. The hasty and inconsiderate legislation of Congress, the arbitrary acts of the Executive, the dilatory if not treacherous conduct of the military, the vast proportion of the Negro question all fill my mind with the saddest forebodings. And I believe our only means of avoiding total ruin is to unite while we may the councils of true men and elect to office men who will carry out a policy dictated by calm and earnest patriotism. We must reorganize party with a wide and more comprehensive basis of principles.

Wednesday, 9th April, 1862

.

Have learned that Lane has totally neglected my business although he has several times assured me he would have it all done just as I wished. Why he should so persistently lie to me and deceive me I can not imagine for he is certainly under some obligations to me and even if he were not I am entitled to fair and open dealing. He is an enigma to me. I often think he is insane, or his extraordinary moral obliquity at least often produces effects so nearly like it that one is in doubt as to the true origin of his aberration of mind. Pomeroy on the contrary has greatly exceeded my expectations in ability, industry, fidelity and reliableness, and makes himself respected by friends and foes.

Thursday 17th April, 1862

Called at the Senate document room and got a copy of the bill introduced into the Senate yesterday by Genl. Pomeroy for the organization of the Territory of Lanniway. This bill I prepared myself with the view of securing a permanent home for the Indians. On reading it as printed, I find some errors which may have been in the manuscript; and some omissions I did not detect before. Having the whole thing before me now in a printed form I think I can make such corrections and alterations as will effect the object I have in view—A suitable government for the Indians under which they may live in peace and security.

Thursday 24th April, 1862.

I found among the papers a private letter to Lane in reference to this and other business which could not but have prejudiced my interests. Lane may have put this letter in inadvertantly but a man who would thus by negligence do an act so injurious to one trusting in him is unworthy of confidence and official position of any kind. Lane is really one of the most unprincipled men I ever knew without a particle of honor, gratitude, or honesty. No wonder the country goes to ruin when such men rule it.

Friday 25th April, 1862.

Called to see Genl. Lane twice to get him to recommend Col. Chas Sims to the President as a suitable person for the office of Superintendent of the new mint (to be) at Denver City. Lane signed it with apparent cheerfulness, saying he would do anything he could for Col. Sims. All this looked most encouraging, but when I called on Genl. Pomeroy he said both he and Lane had signed a recommendation for another person! and of course [could not] consistently sign this. He said besides Genl. Lane's brother in Indiana was a candidate for the same office and he thought Genl. Lane had a promise in favor of his brother. Now if these things are so how much more honest and satisfactory would it have been if Genl. Lane had frankly stated all the facts! What is there to be gained by such double dealing?

Thursday 8th May 1862.

.

Called to see Genl. Pomeroy who informs me that Lane did not attend the meeting of the Indian Committee on Wednesday although he told me the night previous he would do so. Was ever man more destitute of gratitude and truthfulness? Lane's treachery and falsehood give me much trouble and anxiety. He occupies a place in which he obstructs my business; if he were away I should get along much better. His conduct is entirely inexplicable. Nothing but a heart as black as hell could impel a man to so much baseness as this man is guilty [of], meantime I am the victim. My whole soul is filled with anguish from the discouragements, ill treatment, and embarrassments that overwhelm [me]; and but for my poor family I had far rather be in my grave than thus submit to these oppressions, and humiliations. I cannot withdraw my mind from the wretched condition to which I am reduced.

Wednesday 21st May, 1862.

A day of disappointment and mortification. As the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs were to meet, I went to see Genl. Lane to urge him to attend the meeting as he has all my business under his management and professes to feel a deep interest in it. But he told me he could not attend. I then went to Mr Niles my Attorney and recommended by Lane and requested him to see Lane and urge upon him the necessity of his attendance. This he promised to do and at once wrote a letter to Lane upon the subject. This letter I sent into Lane by his son. Lane attended the meeting and the Committee agreed to report favorably on Mr^s Guthrie's claim. I afterward visited the Committee room myself and Mr Doolittle, Jr, the clerk told me he was then making out the law the Committee proposed to pass. I then went into the Senate gallery and soon after saw Mr Doolittle Jr take some papers to Mr Harlan who after examining them took them to Lane who on looking over them hastily took his pen and erased several lines. I afterwards learned these were the law for the relief of Mr^s Guthrie and that Lane had struck out all that was essential in the case. The law or joint resolution as it now remains is worth just nothing at all and I could months ago have had it settled more to my satisfaction without any trouble. The Committee has twice

agreed to this claim and why Lane should thus defeat it after pretending to be its principal champion is really a mystery. But the mystery might be solved if we could understand the business of Mr Legate, Abbott's (the Shawnee Agent) Agent here. Lane has evidently betrayed me and that treachery has been brought about by some understanding between Lane, Abbott, and Legate. I have no words to express my indignation at, and detestation of this baseness. Lane's treachery and ingratitude are the most gross it has been my misfortune to experience. But he shall yet pay the full penalty of his villainy.

This evening I called to see Genl. Lane and met Mr Niles there Lane pretends to have done all he could to secure a more favorable issue. The audacity of the scoundrel is most consummate.

Sunday 25th May, 1862.

Called to see Genl. Pomeroy to show him the law introduced by Senator Harlan for the relief of Mrs Guthrie and proposed to him to have it amended, he was willing to sustain it, but told me that my interviews with Senators Harlan and Wilkinson in reference to this claim had prejudiced them against the claim because in conversation I claimed that the republican party originated in my efforts for a government for Nebraska (now Kansas) As no intelligent truthful man can controvert this fact I presume the feeling excited against me was that it was presumption in me to claim a merit which they all think themselves to some extent entitled to. So it seems that it matters not what a man's merits are if not supported by successful ambition, they are to be ignored even by those who reap the beneficial fruits of them. After Nebraska (Kansas) was organized I determined to live a quiet simple life on my little farm and so far as I could, I have adhered to that resolution. And because I have not kept myself in the public eye, these *great men* think it preposterous that I should lay any claim to the important service I have performed! I will yet be the pen of these political ingrates and make them feel the injustice of their dastardly conduct.

Called to see Genl. Lane who told me the same as Genl. Pomeroy and Senator Doolittle has also conceived a prejudice against me. I do not happen to have the graces of a courtier and talk to these men as I would talk to other men; but they seem to expect a deference that I cannot conceive them entitled to. The jealousy of power always

makes it anxious to forget all to whom it is indebted. I would certainly not have gone to see one of these Senators had Lane given any attention to my business. I have now been here five months and the business I have entrusted to Lane is no further advanced than when I came; indeed it is in a much worse condition, and it was not until I was forced by his neglect and repeated falsehoods that I called upon other Senators and for the first time on the tenth of this month and then only on those I heard were hostile to M^{rs} G's claim so that my interviews with them could not have produced their opposition but I am satisfied that Lane's negative support did. His treachery and ingratitude are most wanton and inexplicable. I shall find it impossible to forget it.

Friday 6th June, 1862.

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Made some corrections in the bill to organize the Territory of Leniwa, for the benefit of the Indians. This bill I prepared myself but find much to correct in it. Senator Pomeroy introduced it into the Senate.

Saturday 7th June 1862.

Wrote a letter to Senator J. R. Doolittle enclosing a slip from the New York Tribune of the 7th March of this year, containing an article written by myself in support of the organization of the Territory South of Kansas for the exclusive benefit of the Indians, and also a copy of the bill introduced into the Senate by Genl. Pomeroy for that purpose, with such amendments as I thought necessary to render the organization effective. This bill as originally prepared by me covered a large amount of manuscript and as it was prepared at different times, some confusion and omissions occurred which I have endeavored to arrange and correct. I have great confidence in the success of the plan if controlled by good men, but under any circumstances the Indians can be no worse off than they are now.

Thursday 12th June, 1862

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Sent a letter written, written three or four days ago, to Horace Greely with a copy of the Report of the House Committee on Elections on my claim for mileage and *per diem* as delegate from Nebraska.

Mr Greeley or some one for him, in an article on Nebraska, Kansas, in the Tribune Almanac of 1856, stated that Thomas Johnson was the first delegate from Kansas (Nebraska.) This does me the greatest injustice as Johnson was not heard of until after I had represented the Territory one session of Congress and had obtained the passage of the bill for the organization of the Territory through the House, but the session being a short one it failed in the Senate for want of time.

Friday 27th June, 1862.

Today it is said Genl. Pope has been put in command of the armies under Genls. Banks, Fremont, McDowell, & Shields [——] except McDowell whom I regard as a traitor or wholly destitute of military talents. I have no doubt these Generals are individually as competent as Pope, but as they are volunteers, and have never been through West Point, it is the design of the graduates of that institution, to deprive them of all means and opportunities of distinguishing themselves, and for this reason their forces have been kept so small that they have been able to do really nothing and besides have been crippled by the arbitrary orders of their superiors; the result too of West Point jealousy. Such reflections and conclusions at least seem justified by the result; while the public are not permitted to know what takes place behind the curtains. West Point through its graduates now rules the destinies of this country and are as rapidly revolutionizing the government as the rebels, and are more dangerous to the liberties of the country; for they are overthrowing its institutions under the guise and pretense of loyalty and therefore excite no suspicions of their infamous designs, while [the] country sees only the open efforts of the rebels.

Tuesday, July 1, 1862.

To-day I got a Wyandot newspaper in which I find all my land advertised for sale to satisfy claims against the Quindaro Company. Of this debt I never received one cent and am now entirely ruined by the villainy of Charles Robinson who has grown rich by plundering me. The appraisement is so low too as if for the very purpose of making my ruin the more certain. I am a good deal indebted too,

for this misfortune to my kindness to these creditors whom I favored as far as in my power allowing judgments to go by default when I could have made a defense and thus have kept back judgment a long time. I have no language that could even remotely express the anguish these things occasion me; were it not for the hope that my poor family will be saved from starvation by the success of M^{rs} Guthrie's Shawnee claim, I should sink into the grave from utter despair. God alone can sustain and guide me under such distressing circumstances. Has God no punishment for such villains? Why should they be allowed to rob the innocent and unwary? This infamous wretch never experienced any thing but kindness and boundless generosity from myself and my poor family until his true character was developed and even then I long bore in silence the crushing wrong in the vain hope that shame or contrition would bring him to some sense of justice. I have found the laws unequal to a remedy; he has had them so made as to suit himself and thus with his own perjuries and those of his confederates I am entirely powerless and utterly ruined without the hope of legal redress.

Friday July 4th 1862

.

I have made up my mind to be an independent candidate for Congress in Kansas, and commenced writing an address to the people of the State some days ago, but have been too unwell to finish it; if I can get money enough to pay the expense of the contest I think I shall succeed—otherwise doubtful. It would appear strange that so humble and now so obscure an individual should succeed in so important an election. But I feel impelled to make the trial because there are many public measures I would like to bring forward in Congress; because I think more independent men are wanted in Congress; because I have done more for Kansas than any other citizen.

Tuesday 22nd July, 1862.

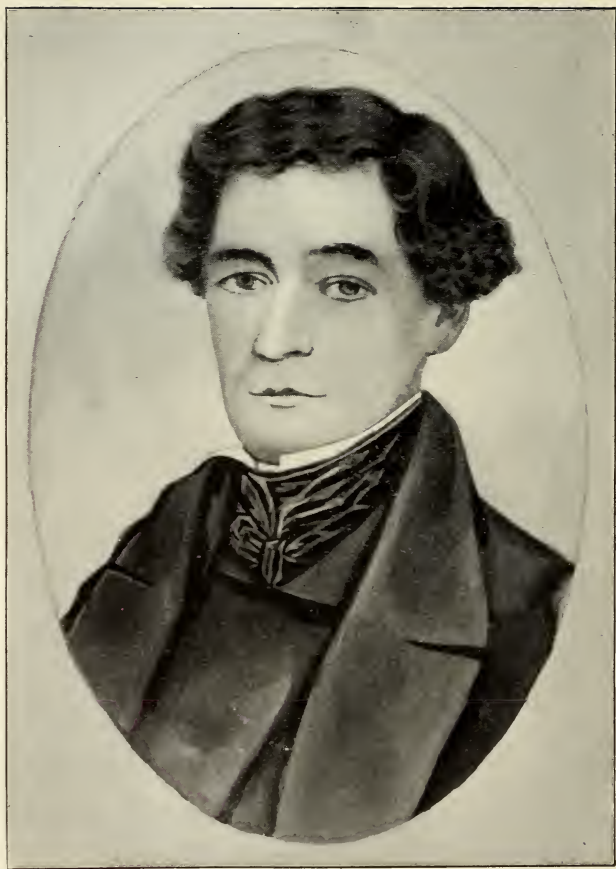
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Talked with Genl. Lane about getting some military appointment for M^r Cobb. He said M^{rs} Dole had spoken to him on the same subject; that he was authorized by the president to organize and equip an army of fifty thousand Negroes, and would start for Kansas for

that purpose in a day or two and if Mr Cobb would call and see him he thought he could give him as good a place as he had wished. I have not much faith in the promises of Lane, but think with Mrs Dole's solicitation and his own interest Mr Cobb will be offered a place on Lane's staff. Although I look upon the whole scheme as chimerical and expensive, and fraught with more danger than benefits. Wrote to S. A. Cobb.

Monday 28th July, 1862.

.
 Finished an address to the people of Kansas proposing to run as a candidate for Congress. I feel this office is due me for past services and if I had only the gift of gab I believe I should as an independent candidate be elected. Still I feel it a kind of duty to offer and trust to the justice of the people.



WILLIAM WALKER, 1833.

THE JOURNALS
OF
WILLIAM WALKER
PROVISIONAL GOVERNOR
OF
NEBRASKA TERRITORY

FIRST BOOK

From March 29, 1845, to September 22, 1849

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT IN THE COLLECTION OF
WILLIAM E. CONNELLEY

JOURNAL.

FRANCOIS.

“Le plus beau morceau d'eloquence qu'il y ait dans aucune langue.”
Bolmar.

TRADUCTION.

“The finest piece of eloquence that exists in any language.”

“time when the memory of man runneth not to the contrary.”

THE
JOURNALS OF WILLIAM WALKER,

PROVISIONAL GOVERNOR OF NEBRASKA TERRITORY.

FIRST BOOK.

From March 29, 1845, to September 22, 1849.

1845.

MARCH, 1845.

Saturday, 29.—Caught Samuel Medary¹ and put him up in a coop to fatten (not on Quassi Quires) to be cooked for dinner on Harriet's birthday.

APRIL, 1845.

Thursday, 10.—Sam was killed and eat up, though sooner than was at first intended. His day of execution was hastened by his repeatedly escaping from his coop, and when out would invariably fall upon Harry in a deadly fight, but was invariably whipped by the latter. It was thought that under these circumstances Sam could not gain much fat or flesh, and therefore the allotted time was shortened.

Alas poor Sam

Let his bones slumber in peace!

¹ This was evidently a rooster which Governor Walker named Samuel Medary for an Ohio politician of his acquaintance. Medary was afterward appointed Territorial Governor of Kansas Territory. The appointment was made November 19, 1858.

MAY, 1845.

Friday, 23.—Finished ploughing the field.

Saturday, 24.—Harrowed. Set out seventy-five cabbage plants.

Monday, 26.—Planted red potatoes and thirty-one hills watermelons.

Tuesday, 27.—Set out four dozen beet plants and some sugar beets; fifty cabbage plants.

Wednesday, 28.—Planted the corn, part yellow, and part large white.

Thursday, 29.—Sowed the Sandwich Island flower seeds.

Friday, 30.—Planted muskmelons and the fall potatoes.

Saturday, 31.—Planted blue corn¹ with beans, and five hills of Santa Fe corn.

JUNE, 1845.

Sunday, 1.—Rested. Rainy day. Wrote to G. N. D.

Monday, 2.—Tried an experiment. Set out fifty radishes in the following manner: Made holes in the ground with a sharp stick and held the radish in the hole, then filled up the interstices with sand.*

*I will never try this experiment again. Not worth a cent.

Tuesday, 3.—Set out twelve hills sweet potatoes, and [planted] fifteen [hills] Nantucket corn.

Wednesday, 4.—Planted pumpkins and watermelons and muskmelons.

Thursday, 5.—Planted some more, ditto. We have enough.

Saturday, 7.—Dr. Hewitt and family arrive.²

¹ Corn was one of the principal articles of food of the Wyandots, and to this day they raise many varieties of it—a certain kind for each season, some early and some late, one kind for a special variety of hominy, and one kind for another variety of that dish, etc., etc.

² Dr. Hewitt was the Indian Agent. His descendants live near Turner Station on the A. T. & S. F. R. R., in Shawnee Township, Wyandotte County, Kansas. They are farmers. One of his sons lives in Los Angeles, Cal.

Tuesday, 10.—Enclosed the woods pasture seven rails high.

Tuesday, 17.—Rainy season commenced.

Wednesday, 18.—Raining—rained all day.

Thursday, 19.—Rained all day.

Friday, 20.—Rained all the time furiously.

Saturday, 21.—Rained all the time furiously.

Sunday, 22.—Rained all the time furiously.

JULY, 1845.

Sunday, 13.—Quarterly meeting—hot day, thermometer 98.

OCTOBER, 1845.

Saturday, 11.—Devoured our last watermelon.

NOVEMBER, 1845.

Thursday, 27.—Thermometer at zero at sunrise.

Saturday, 29.—Thermometer 22 degrees below zero.

DECEMBER, 1845.

Tuesday, 23.—Bought 810 pounds [of] pork at \$3.00 per cwt.

Wednesday, 24.—Cut it up and salted it away.

Thursday, 25.—A merry Christmas¹ to all! I staid at home all day, for the best of all reasons, being lame and unable to go about. Wrote to some friends in Ohio.

Tuesday, 30.—Held Council here and did some wise things.

Wednesday, 31.—Wrote a long letter to our delegates at Washington.²

¹ Governor Walker almost invariably spelled Christmas "Chrismas." I have taken the liberty to correct the spelling.

² The Wyandots kept delegates in Washington most of the time to look after their interests.

1846.

JANUARY, 1846.

Thursday, 1.—This is the 45th new year that has passed over my head. In looking through the long vista I have passed through, how few of my contemporaries live to see this day! "*Mais ainse va le monde.*"

Friday, 2.—Done nothing—read some—lounged about the house.

Attempted to translate a French Song into English, horribly done. The musical Frenchman would never recognize his song in this *butchered* English dress.¹

Saturday, 3.—Doing nothing—read some—intending to read some more in Byron's "Island." Whew! Let joy burst forth among epicurians (but more like envy) I am, (hear it ye gluttons!) going to dine on pork and parsnips! Delectable dish! *Felicitatus!*

Just heard by M^{rs} Bostwick that Providence was buried on yesterday. Poor fellow! His last days were full of misery, pain and suffering. He truly died in poverty.

Sunday, 4.—Staid at home and read.

Monday, 5.—Heard of the death of Margaret Nofat.² She died yesterday.

Tuesday, 6.—Council met at George Armstrong's.³ Trans-

¹ Governor Walker spoke French well. Many of the Wyandots spoke French better than they did English. The record in the family Bible of Robert Robitaille is written in French.

² There are Wyandots yet living that belong to the family.

³ The founder of the Armstrong family in the Wyandot Nation was Robert Armstrong. He was captured on the west side of the Alleghany River a few miles above Pittsburgh about the year 1783, by a party of Wyandots and Senecas. He was in company with another white person when captured. The other was a man grown, and was killed. There are two accounts of the capture. See Finley's *Life Among the Indians*, page 453, and Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio* (Cincinnati, O., 1847), pages 166, 167.

The boy was retained and adopted by the Wyandots. He grew up and married a Wyandot woman. He separated from her and married Sarah Zane, daughter of Isaac Zane, who had himself been captured and adopted by the Wyandots, had grown up and married a Wyandot woman. By the first wife he had one son, George, born in 1801; died in February, 1853. By the second wife he had four children that I have an account

acted a variety of business. Adjourned to meet that day a week at some house in town.

Wednesday, 7.—Undergoing the most tormenting affliction from biles, ulcers, sores, scabs, etc. My flesh appears to be running into a putrid state, while at the same time my health in general is good.

Thursday, 8.—Lay all day in the house.

Friday, 9.—Lay all day in the house.

Saturday, 10.—Lay all day in the house.

Sunday, 11.—Suffering still; spend sleepless nights. Wrote letters to M^r Guthrie, [and] J. Washington.

Monday, 12.—No better but worse—*Psoriasis inveterati*.

Tuesday, 13.—Sent for Dr. Hewitt; must undergo a course of medicine. Unable to attend Council. Requested Tour-oomee to preside over the deliberations of the Council and proceed to business.

Wednesday, 14.—Slept sound last night, having drawn pretty liberally upon a soporific anodyne y'clept, morphine—feel somewhat stupid, and some foggyness in the upper story; not much appetite.

Thursday, 15.—Feel some better—inflammation going down.

Friday, 16.—Sleeting this morning, accompanied with snow.

Prepared a communication for C. Graham to Purdy M. E. upon the subject of four months pay while moving the

of: 1. Hannah, died while attending the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky. (See Finley's History of the Wyandot Mission.) 2. Silas, born June 3, 1810; 3. John McIntyre, born October 7, 1813; 4. Catherine.

George Armstrong married the daughter of Mononcue, a Wyandot preacher, famous in the history of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky. Her name was Skah'-mehn-dah -teh; she belonged to the Porcupine Clan. George Armstrong is buried in the Huron Place Cemetery. The following is copied from his tombstone:

George Armstrong

Died

Feb. — 1853

Aged 52 Years.

This is an error. Governor Walker's Journal says he died November 19, 1851. See his entry of November 20th, 1851.

shop and his family to this country. Dull times. Confined to my room—*gloomy ennui*.

Saturday, 17.—Received a letter from Jesse Stern,¹ giving information of Capt. Wagstaff's movements—his petition for a partition of the lands in Seneca County, and his wish for the appointment of an administrator on the personal estate of C. W.²

Sunday, 18.—Staid at home all day and read the news—had the company of M^r Austin who staid till nearly night. In the evening was called upon by M^r G. and lady and in a few moments afterwards J. W. was added to the company. Isaiah accepted his improvement money, it is said, for the purpose of buying M^{rs} Long's improvement to keep a certain Blackstone, Jr. from getting it. *Not so bad a move*.

Monday, 19.—Commenced snowing this morning at 2 o'clock A. M., and now, at 9 o'clock, still snowing and a fair prospect of a regular snow storm.

Tuesday, 20.—This is Council day—important matters may come up before that august body. If any Council were held I do not know where it was nor what was done. It stormed all day at a most furious rate and I kept close quarters.

Wednesday, 21.—Sun rose clear. We shall have a thaw to-day.

Thursday, 22.—Staid all day in close quarters.

Friday, 23.—To-day a poor wretch, named Lester, has to expiate his crime on the "gallows tree," according to the sentence of the court before which he was tried and convicted of the crime, murder, *cold blooded* murder, of his brother-in-law whom he had decoyed off into the prairies on pretence of special business requiring secrecy. The motive prompting

¹ It is impossible to tell whether Governor Walker intends this for *Stem* or *Stern*. This holds all the way through his Journal. I have written it *Stern*.

² Catharine Walker, Governor Walker's mother.

to the murder was property. The parents of the murderer appear to have been desperate wretches.

By this time, 4 o'clock P. M., he must have passed the dark curtain of death.

Saturday, 24.—No news. Dull times. Horribelorum. Blue devils.

Sunday, 25.—Sick—had a chill at daylight. My back came near parting twain. Received a letter from A. Guthrie.¹ Not very encouraging news from Washington. Our delegates rioting on the fat of the land at a most expensive rate and doing nothing and no prospect of their doing any public or private good. Money spent for nothing.

Monday, 26.—Replied to M^r Guthrie in a dolorous letter.

Employed Peter Balouger² and Peter Gray to build a smoke house with a porch six feet wide on one side of the house, the house to be fourteen feet square and ten logs high, price \$20.00. Where is the cash to come from. Trust to chances.

Tuesday, 27.—Attended Council to-day but done very little important business. Agreed to employ Tall Charles³ another year to keep the ferry.

Wrote a joint letter to George Garrett upon the subject of R. Wagstaff's application for a partition of the land in Seneca County and the appointment of an administrator on the personal estate of C. W. In our commucation to G. G. we deny that there is any personal property, all having

¹ Abelard Guthrie and James Washington were the Delegates at Washington City.

² Governor Walker writes this name in a variety of ways. It should be written *Bolanger*. He was a Frenchman—one of a settlement of French and half-breed French and Indians living then in the "bottom," between the Missouri and Kansas Rivers, along the banks of Turkey Creek, which at that time flowed into the Missouri.

³ Tall Charles was sometimes called John Tall-Charles. He was an industrious man and good citizen. He is buried in Huron Place Cemetery. On his tombstone is the following:

Tall Charles
Died
May — 1856
Aged 55 Yrs.

been disposed of during her lifetime. The letter was signed W. W., C. B. G., M. R. W., J. W.¹

Wednesday, 28.—Mild, warm morning; smoky and hazy; Mr George Dickson called upon us. 11 o'clock, commenced misting, and shortly after set in a pretty rain, and now, 3 o'clock, raining at a pretty brisk rate and every prospect of having it all night. Dr. H. advises me to resume the use of the iodine and blue mass in order to correct the great irregularity in my system and quicken the circulation. So to-morrow morning I resume the medicine. Midnight, raining.

Thursday, 29.—Raining, and every appearance of raining all day. Rain, rain, oh dull day!

"Be still sad heart and cease repining
Behind the clouds is the sun still shining."

Friday, 30.—Sun rose clear; but shortly afterwards it became over-clouded, and rain set in at 8 o'clock. No work to be done on the smoke house to-day.

Hurra, the hounds! What music!! In full chase after a wolf over hill and dale, away they go. I am getting better!

Saturday, 31.—Received a few old papers from the P. O. that had been on the road between this and Washington a month or six weeks. No letters. No news from our delegates. What has become of them?

But I am informed there [is] a mail behind, which did not reach Independence.² This may account for the lack of *news*.

FEBRUARY, 1846.

Sunday, 1.—This being the day of "rest," I rested, but it was a poor "rest" to me. Equal to the rest enjoyed by the felon in his prison.

¹ William Walker, Charles B. Garrett, Matthew R. Walker, and Joel Walker.

² Independence was the nearest post office.

Monday, 2.—Posted books all day—walked out. Dr. H. and J. W. called and we spent an hour in chat on various matters; Indian affairs, politics, etc.

Tuesday, 3.—Laid the foundation of the smoke house.

Wednesday, 4.—Done nothing worthy of note.

Thursday, 5. —Raised the smoke house.

Friday, 6.—Went to the City. Wrote this day to W. again for news.

Saturday, 7.—Went to Kansas. Saw Maj. Vaughan. What is he “arter”? While there, bo’t a pair of shoes. I expect they are good for nothing. Look at the price, \$1.25. Ha, ha, ha.

Sunday, 8.—Staid all day at home—read newspapers. Oregon, Oregon. This has become the Alpha and Omega of our mouthing politicians. No one can be a great man unless he can vociferate “all of Oregon or none,” and chew and spit out powder and lead.

Monday, 9.—Clear, bright, and frosty morning. Wrote to Luther A. Hall (but dated the letter the 10th) on the subject of the tax money sent by him to pay into the Hardin County treasury.

Tuesday, 10.—Paid to Tall Charles, ferryman, \$45.00, leaving a balance due him for 1845 of \$55.00. Bo’t some baskets from some Muncie women. Received by the hands of Mr Wheeler, the President’s message with accompanying documents, sent by Mr Sawyer, M. C. Met in Council, determined upon calling a National Council¹ on Thursday to deliberate upon our matters at Washington and other affairs generally.

¹ The government of the Wyandots was a pure Democracy. Any matter of importance that affected the tribe had to be sanctioned by a National Council of the whole people. The tribal Council of Chiefs fixed the day for a National Convention and notified the people of the time, place, and purpose of the meeting. This notice was sent by the Sheriffs, of which there were two. Women participated in these National Councils and voted in them if they chose to do so. A majority vote was sufficient to pass a measure

Wednesday, 11.—Moved some of our trumpery, such as soap, salt, corn meal, pork, etc., into our new smoke house, and hung up the hams and shoulders to dry, and afterwards to smoke.

Heard yesterday my land in H. County, was sold for taxes. Money was furnished to my friends in Ohio to pay the taxes, but they very kindly appropriated the money to their own use. The devil take such friends.

Thursday, 12.—Met in general convention at the meeting house at 12 o'clock. I called the convention to order and explained the object of the meeting. A committee was accordingly appointed to act with the Chiefs in drafting a memorial to Congress upon the subject of our claims. The committee consisted of nine men.

Friday, 13.—Committee and the Council met at the School House and drew up a strong memorial to be sent to Hon. Tho. H. Benton of the Senate.

Saturday, 14.—Staid at home, copied the memorial, scribbled some, read some. I want my mail. News, news! Snow going off very fast.

Sunday, 15.—Wrote a long letter to James Washington, apprising him of our sending our memorial to Senator Benton, and apprising him how affairs are going on at his house—loafers eating him up.

Monday, 16.—Wrote under date of 14th, to Jesse Stern, upon the subject of Wagstaff's claim, and inquiring what authority he has to represent J. T. W.¹ in his petition for a partition of land.

Tuesday, 17.—Having received information that our Chiefs had presented, through Senator Allen, a memorial to Congress, we concluded not to send ours to Col. Benton, but forward it to them to be used privately among their friends as an exponent of the wishes of the people.

¹ John T. Walker, son of John R. Walker, Governor Walker's oldest brother.

Wednesday, 18.—I staid up last night till a late hour expecting a visitor to my corn shocks of the “kine” kind; intended to pay my respects to this “kine” visitor by the discharge of one or two rounds *a la mode* military, but no visitor.

This morning I yoked up my oxen, fearing they might forget the use of the yoke, and hauled some wood. Cattle work well yet. Being washday, carried water. Women all in the suds. Did other *chores*—Shakespeare says *chares*. Which is correct? Some will have it that such work should be called “pottering.” Well, potter you that potter will, “*as the Pelagions vainly do teach.*”

Received the mail from the P. O., two newspapers, not my own, and a letter from James Washington, giving us all the [news] they have upon the subject of their business at W. Prospects somewhat encouraging.¹

Thursday, 19.—Commenced snowing this morning a little before day and it snowed all day at a most furious rate but held up at 3 o'clock P. M. Altogether considered it has been a rather *unseemly day*. Wrote to John Goodin authorizing him to make an effort to recover my land in Hardin county, sold for taxes. My curses rest on the men I entrusted the tax money with!

Friday, 20.—Rose at the dawn of day; frosty morning—made a fire, called my folks up and had everything stirring in due time. Stirring times, “*all of Oregon or none.*” To the 54th degree and 40 minutes and no less. Hurry breakfast, no time to be lost. Yes, and the British are looking towards Cuba—we are in imminent danger.² The teakettle is boiling over. Take it off the fire.

Our young folks enjoying the snow by sleigh riding of evenings.

¹ The matter of getting the sanction of the Government to the purchase of their home from the Delawares was at this time engrossing the attention of the Wyandots.

² Governor Walker had a supreme contempt for the demagoguery of the average so-called statesman.

Saturday, 21.—Clear, cold, and frosty morning—prospect of a fine day. This is mail day—bring on the news “Now what news upon the Rialto?” Mail received, but nothing but newspapers, and nothing of special interest in them.

Sunday, 22.—Sick this morning, sick all day.

Monday, 23.—Ill at ease—pains all over my body with soreness in my breast. Spent a restless night—took no medicine, 'cause my appetite is not affected nor any derangement of stomach or bowels.

Tuesday, 24.—Council day, but I am unable to attend the session to-day. Not feeling any better, and withal being a cold, dreary and cloudy day—so contented myself with burying my ills, laying and sitting about the fire. Query, Does the climate of upper Missouri agree with me? I am sometimes induced to think not. My health has not been good since I came to this country, but still this may be properly attributed to other causes. I would fain think so. I like the country and would wish to spend the remainder of my days in it.

Wednesday, 25.—Roasted my bones all day before the fire. Mercury down near zero all day. Hard weather for an invalid.

Thursday, 26.—This morning mercury two degrees below zero. Whew! good morning Esqr. North Pole, and how fare you, M^r Frigid Zone. Have you both come south to thaw your noses? Hope you will make your visit short.

John Providence was found to-day near Turkey Creek by Benjamin, a Frenchman, who, on examining him, found that his legs were frozen above the knees and his arms frozen above the elbows and [he was] nearly dead. He carried him to the Ferry and dragged him over on the ice and [he] was taken to Tall Charles's house. He laid out all night, in a state of intoxication. Dr. H. thinks he cannot live. During last night the mercury stood at zero.

Friday, 27.—Cloudy, cold, dark, weather. Winter, winter.

“The dark and wintry day
Is deepening into night—

The weary woodman seeks his cottage door.”

Saturday, 28.—Sleeted last night. Everything this morning looking as gray as St. Nicholas's beard, while on his nocturnal holiday visits to his patrons. What sort of weather are we to have next? We have had every variety of cold weather, and I begin to wish [for] the return of warm weather. A dark dreary day the most cheerless and gloomy I have seen lately. Shine forth thou luminary of day and show thy brilliant countenance. Suffer us not to be frightened out of our wits by the horrible dark frowns of the clouds above us.

MARCH, 1846.

Sunday, 1.—Clear, warm day. Thawed some of the frost out of the ground.

Monday, 2.—Went to Kansas on foot. Crossed the river on the ice. Came near giving out before I reached home, the roads being awfully muddy. Sent to the P. O. a communication to James Washington.

Tuesday, 3.—Council to-day. Met at 12 o'clock; read to the Council Jas. Washington's letter, and then stated what I said in answer. Directors employed Mr. Robataille¹ to take charge of Mr. Kramer's school.

Wednesday, 4.—Charming morning; oh, the clear blue sky and the glorious rising sun! How vivifying to my dormant and nearly dead energies both of body and mind.

Thursday, 5.—This being my natal day, I now make my obeisance and enter into my 46th year. I now take my rank among old men. What! Am I an old man? Do I look venerable? Well, if I do, I do not feel like leaving the ranks

¹ Robert Robitaille, a Wyandot. Lived near Quindaro, Wyandotte county, Kansas.

of the young and middle aged yet, at any rate. On serious reflection upon my past life, checkered tho' it has been, it seems to me that I have lived to but little purpose. I do not recollect of having founded any charitable institution, church, or synagogue, yet I have not been unmindful of the poor. I have a warm feeling for the poor and distressed.

Friday, 6.—Set out four apple trees (grafts) [that] I got from M. R. W. They were procured in Granville, Ohio, and [are] reputed to be of a superior quality.

Saturday, 7.—Dr. H. made preparation and proceeded to Kansas to take the boat on her return, destined for Washington. The John-Go-Long-Up being the first boat up this season. The river unusually low; in many places, there is scarcely two feet of water in the channel.

Sunday, 8.—Down sick with a high fever. Our mail brought in. We were shocked at the intelligence of the death of Geo. Garrett,¹ communicated by Kirby, McE., and J. Walker; disease, *mania a potu*. Favorable intelligence from Washington about our claims. Got 20 apple trees.

Monday, 9.—Raining. Gloomy day. Continue sick.

Tuesday, 10.—Council day. Could not attend, of course. Staid at home and nursed myself. Commenced taking that panacea for ills, *blue mass*.

Wednesday, 11.—Had a high fever all day; pains in my back.

Thursday, 12.—Some better; sat up all day.

Friday, 13.—Comfortable; read all day and amused myself in various ways to drive dull care and ennui away. At night, luxuriated on a dish of oyster soup.

Saturday, 14.—Walked over this morning to the Deacon's, on a visit. Chatted about half an hour and came away. Can't walk very fast. In the evening, Isaiah [Walker] brought me two Nat. Intelligencers, but [they] containing

¹ Governor Walker's brother-in-law; he lived in Ohio.

no news of importance. Wrote, through the day, by spells, a long letter to Robert Wagstaff, giving him, in plain and unequivocal language, my opinion of his course.

Sunday, 15.—Attended this morning at the Deacon's. William Garrett and Mary Ann Long were there united in marriage at 10 o'clock A. M., and proceeded with a party of their friends to Westport. Peace and prosperity attend them.

Monday, 16.—Getting some better. Sat up all day; read some in the evening. The wedding party returned from Westport, highly delighted with their trip.

Tuesday, 17.—Wrote D. W. Deshler for a certificate or receipt.

Wednesday, 18.—Sick last night; pains last night in my stomach, which terminated in a copious evacuation from the bowels. This morning paid the Deacon for my blooded hog stock (\$400.) so my pigs are secured, unless they are stolen, which Heaven forefend!

Thursday, 19.—Received two letters from our deputies at Washington. No news of interest. Considering Friday an ill omened or unlucky day, and having twenty choice apple trees to set out, I concluded I would at all events, weak as I am, make a commencement to-day, so I set out four.¹

Friday, 20.—Isaiah kindly came over and helped me to finish setting out 20, the remainder of the trees. This was done in the *dark of the moon*. Will it make any difference in the thrift or bearing of the trees. Wrote a long letter to J. Washington in reply to his, and one to John Walker. My health slowly improving. Too great an appetite for my digestion. Still luxuriating on blue mass—"by the mass." But it is becoming very nauseating to my stomach and palate; but it must be taken although it may cost some wry faces and unseemly gyrations.

¹ Almost all men have this feeling that Friday is an unlucky day, but few of them will admit it as frankly as Governor Walker does here.

Saturday, 21.—Staid about home. Done pottering chores about the house. Walked over to M. R. W.'s and spent the *afternoon*. Commenced raining in the evening and continued, with short intermissions, raining all night.

Sunday, 22.—Raining this morning. Kept close quarters. Read much miscellaneous matter. Wrote for the Expositor. Rained all night.

Monday, 23.—Rainy morning. Found the glands in my neck considerably swollen caused by my taking the mercurial pills, and the damp weather. I must suspend my pill taking till the weather changes. Bought some young peach trees from C. B. G. If I am favored with good luck I shall in three years have lots of fine fruit. So mote it be.

Tuesday, 24.—This morning found myself *ptyalyzed*. The glands under my jaws, sore. A regular New England snow storm all day. Could not attend Council to-day—the weather too inclement to go out.

Wednesday, 25.—Clear, but a cold windy morning. Some rain through the day. Nothing of interest occurred.

Thursday, 26.—Raw, disagreeable day. Staid at home. Read over my latest papers the second time for the want of later ones.

Friday, 27.—Cold, cloudy day—dreary as the shores of the Island of Spitzbergen, spitting snow all day.

Saturday, 28.—Cool morning. Set out about 10 o'clock for Kansas to mail some letters and get our mail. Not getting anything I sent Eldridge H.¹ to Westport and got our mail, one letter from J. W. G., and one from L. A. Hall. "Quarterly meeting time."

Sunday, 29.—Clear cold morning. Frosty. Read newspapers. Lectured my children on morals and good breeding, warning them against various immoralities.² People

¹ Eldredge H. Brown, now living in Wyandotte, Indian Territory.

² An old-fashioned practice, now almost obsolete, which might well be revived.

going to church. I wish I could go, but I cannot walk that far and back without too much fatigue.

Monday, 30.—Cloudy morning and cold. M^r Stateler¹ called upon us and had a long confab. Tauroomee² called and had a ditto. Oh, genial and vivifying spring, hasten

¹ The minister of the M. E. Church.

² Wyandotte *Gazette*, January 20, 1870:

“Tauroomee, Chief of the Wyandotte Nation, died on Saturday morning last, and was buried Sunday, at 2 o'clock P. M. The funeral exercises were held at the M. E. Church, South, and owing to the state of the weather and roads, was not numerously attended. They consisted of a brief eulogy on the life and character of the deceased, delivered in the language of the Wyandottes and the committing to the earth of his remains. Governor Walker pronounced the eulogy, and afterwards gave a short synopsis of it in English, from which we gather the following facts:

“Tauroomee, in his early life, was a man of the chase, a hunter. But his tribe, having noticed that he had a good degree of ability, he was in 1838, chosen into the Council Board of the nation, and upon the death of John Long, a number of years afterwards, he became Head Chief. From this time the good of the nation seemed to lie nearest his heart. His administration was morally a wise and just one. He was a man of great endurance and an indomitable will, and when he undertook a measure, no obstacle would turn him from it until it was accomplished. He was not of very quick perceptions, and often expressed his regret that he could not grasp a subject and cope with it and form his conclusions more readily. But when he had taken time to examine a subject in all of its bearings, his conclusions were sure to be correct.

“Soon after his tribe came to the West, a proposition was made by the government (if we understood the speaker correctly) to have the lands divided among the people, and have them come into full citizenship. This Tauroomee strenuously opposed, he claiming that they were not prepared for such a step, and that the result would be that in short time many of them would be homeless. The matter was submitted to the nation, and a large majority voting for it, it was adopted. Tauroomee, obeying the voice of his people, signed the treaty, but under protest. The results he had foreseen, soon manifested themselves. Many of the tribe, through their improvidence, were soon suffering for the necessaries of life. They had squandered their lands, and were without homes. Then their fallen Chief began to look about for a home for them. He finally bethought him of their old neighbors, the Senecas, who now live some two hundred miles south of here. Many obstacles were thrown in his way, but he overcame them all and succeeded in securing among the Senecas, twenty thousand acres of land. Many of his people are already settled there, and at the time of his death, he was awaiting some action of Congress to enable him to complete their removal. Now he is gone, and John W. Gray-Eyes becomes Chief by birthright. Tenderly and feelingly the speaker counseled Gray-Eyes to shake off his besetting sin, and be strong under this new responsibility. The speaker referred to the subdivision of the nation into three divisions called the Big Turtles, Little Turtles and Wolf tribe. He stated that when a Chief of the first two died his eulogy should be spoken by some member of the latter. But in this case, there being no one of that division to do it, he was there to do it, though himself one of the first. Governor Walker's remarks were listened to with deep interest by all who were present. At their conclusion the coffin was taken to the grave, where it was opened and the members of the Wyandotte Nation who were present took a last look at the features of him who had so long been their Chief.”

thy advent to these frigid regions and suffer not that frosty-headed old tyrant, winter, to hold eternal dominion over us.

Tuesday, 31.—Council day. Read J. W. G.'s letter to the Council. Negro question came up; the C[hief] denied that any law prohibiting our negroes from emigrating to this country was passed.¹ Issued Council orders to a large amount for Bacon.

APRIL, 1846.

Wednesday, 1.—How I was myself “fooled.” I had entirely forgotten that this was the first, i. e. *All Fools Day*, or how much real fun I might have had in my family. In fact they forgot it themselves, or they might have had some sport out of me.

Met with M^r G. for the first time since his return from Washington. Had a long confab on our claims, on Gov't, politics, etc.

Weather cleared warm. High winds, drying weather. Encouraging for gardening operations.

Thursday, 2.—Cloudy morning, but cleared off in the afternoon and became warm and pleasant. Disinterred my potatoes; found I had five bushels left. Better than I expected.

Friday, 3.—Commenced ploughing my garden, having forgot that it was Friday an *unlucky day*. Well, it rained, and [I] had to quit. Such and similar are the results of commencing a piece of work on *that day*.

At 2 o'clock it cleared up a little, and as Rev. W., M^r W. and M^{rs} H. W. had made their arrangements to take a pleasure ride to Independence, they saddled up their nags and put out. May they enjoy much pleasure. I am now quite a promising convalescent.

¹ There was much opposition in the tribe to slave-holding by any member or citizen of it. Some of the most influential men contended that slavery and slave-holding were entirely foreign to every Wyandot custom, and repugnant to the Wyandot mind.

Saturday, 4.—Rainy morning; dreary appearance out of doors. 2 o'clock, raining yet. Thermometer between "temperate" and "freezing." Well I will stay in the house and patiently reconcile myself to my lot. Bring on the mail and let me have the news, if there be any going.

Sunday, 5.—Got up this morning; the mercury in the thermometer down to freezing point, and on examination found it had frozen the puddles of rainwater. At 8 o'clock the small hazy clouds began to disperse and the thrice-welcome smiles of "Old Sol" beamed upon the face of nature—making glad all animated nature. Wrote a long letter to H. Barrett, giving him what news we have of interest. Just heard of the arrival of our delegates.

Monday, 6.—Raining like fury. Horrid! Wrote to J. Y., Cin. Read and yawned and complained of the weather, but where is the use? None; so I will be content.

"No man ere found a happy life by chance
Or yawned it into being with a wish."

Tuesday, 7.—Cold morning. Mercury below "freezing point." Clear, but how long will it last. Our folks did not get home last night from Independence. Council day. Met at the Company's store. Transacted some business, and adjourned to meet here to hear the report of the delegates. Adjourned to meet here to-morrow and finish the report. Our folks not home yet. What's the matter?

Wednesday, 8.—Council met here pursuant to adjournment, and the delegates finished their report. If Congress should allow the first appraisement, T. W. Bartley is to be allowed *three thousand* dollars for his services, if not, nothing but his expenses in Washington. Report accepted.

To report to the nation in general Council to-morrow at the church.

Thursday, 9.—Rain. I cannot attend the general Council owing to the inclemency of the weather; dare not get

wet yet. Every appearance of a rainy day. *Set out eighteen peach trees.* It is now four o'clock in the evening, and it has rained all day incessantly and likely to continue so all night. Poor chance for gardening without a change of weather.

Friday, 10.—Rose early, and my ears were saluted with the “old song” rain, rain; dull music.

Rain, rain! Mud, mud! Misery, disappointment, confusion, and disorder. Chaotic.

Saturday, 11.—Wrote to J. M. A.¹ a letter of instruction upon various matters. Cold, dreary weather. Going to hunt my cow; fearing she may have calved and her udder might spoil owing to the temperance of the calf.

12 o'clock.—Just got back from hunting my cow, but cannot find her. Where she has gone to I cannot tell.

Sunday, 12.—Nothing of interest occurred. *Hiatus* of some days. Nothing worth noting.

Saturday, 18.—Attended Council. Executed our agreement with T. W. B.,² our attorney at Washington.

Sunday, 19.—Staid at home all day—read, chatted with such company as called.

Monday, 20.—Worked in the garden; sowed some lettuce. Planted some seed onions and red potatoes.

Tuesday, 21.—Attended Council. Divorced George Armstrong from his wife.³ H. Jacquis goes back to Washington to see to public affairs.

Wednesday, 22.—Wednesday's history may be sum'd up in doing various sorts of work: Gardening, assisting in making soap, carrying water, etc.

Thursday, 23.—Fenced in the yard. Received a mail to-

¹ John M. Armstrong.

² Thos. W. Bartley; he was acting Governor of Ohio in 1844.

³ He was divorced at this time from Skah-mehn-dah-teh, daughter of Mononcue. She is said to have been a virago.

day in which was a letter from Dr. H. written from Washington. Made garden; sowed some seeds.

Friday, 24.—Husked out the remains of my corn crop. Warm and beautiful day. Soap making closed. Wash-day. Soap suds and wash tubs.

Saturday, 25.—Here I find I am in error in regard to my dates. To-day is the 25 instead of Yesterday. Engaged in clearing up the yard, removing rubbish and stuff, leveling the ground—digging up the grubs and stumps. We had no eclipse, tho'. Wrote to Col. J. Goodin¹ to sell my land at a good price if he can.

Sunday, 26.—Staid at home all day, being unable to travel about, owing to my lameness. Read newspapers. Proceedings of Congress; Oregon, Oregon. I wish the whole territory, except the inhabitants, was sunk in the lowest depth of *tophit*. At night, raining.

Monday, 27.—Dreary morning—raining, In my wrath, I slaughtered a hen for breaking my window—she came into the house and I could not drive her out, but through the window she must go, so I slew her!

Tuesday, 28.—Pottered about the house. Wrote some letters, and read some. Made a summer house.

Wednesday, 29.—Worked in the garden; sowed some peas; wrote letters to be sent by the Deacon to Ohio. In the evening, had a visit from M^r Graham.

Thursday, 30.—The day of sale of lots in Kansas.² Could not go on account of lameness. Cold, raw, cloudy day. Backward season.

¹ I have been unable to ascertain whether or not this gentleman was in any way related to John R. Goodin, afterward judge, and member of Congress from Kansas.

² Governor Walker always speaks of Kansas City, Mo., as "Kansas." It was sometimes called "Kansas Landing" and "Westport Landing." This is the first sale of lots; the town-site was first platted about that time. Only lots along the levee were laid out. It was then supposed that what is now the best part of Kansas City would always remain farm land.

MAY, 1846.

Friday, 1.—May-day. In some countries this is a gala day—crowning with flowers the successful candidate for regal honors. I worked in the garden; sowed some parsley seed and also some early cabbage. Tried an experiment by thrusting apple sprouts into Potatoes, and planting them. It is said they [the apple sprouts] will take root.

Saturday, 2.—Worked in the garden. Went to town. Staid nearly all day. Got our news in the evening, and read on till late in the night.

Sunday, 3.—Staid at home—[it] rained. Cold, damp weather.

Monday, 4.—The Deacon packing up his effects for a move to Ohio. Planted some choice watermelons, [which I] got from M^r Twyman. [In the] evening [the] Deacon moved his family over to our house to remain till he sets out on his journey. He seems depressed in spirit and melancholy. He evidently leaves with great reluctance.

Tuesday, 5.—The Council met. C. B. G. required to alter his fence so as to leave room for a road sixty feet wide and throw his farm in[to] a more square form; he fencing in other land in lieu thereof. Granted a divorce to William Clark from his wife Harriet. At 11 o'clock the Deacon and his family bade adieu to the Wyandotts,¹ and embarked on board the Radnor with sorrowful hearts.² May they have a pleasant and prosperous voyage.

Wednesday, 6.—Warm, but cloudy weather; unsettled. About the middle of the afternoon the western horizon became overcast with black and angry looking clouds, which was followed by a most furious rain, and in a short time a violent hail storm set in, which lasted two hours. The

¹ Governor Walker always writes Wyandot "Wyandott."

² This "Deacon" was the Methodist minister, but what his name was I have not ascertained; possibly James Wheeler.

cattle became frantic, running to and fro, smarting under the severe peltings of the hail. The hail continued till night, and all night with occasional intermissions. Everything deluged.

Thursday, 7.—Clear this morning, but how long it will last no one can tell. Hark, I hear the song of the cuckoo. Truly, I can from my heart address that sweet bird in the words of Logan!

“Sweet bird! thy bower is ever green,
Thy sky is ever clear;
Thou hast no sorrow in thy note,
No winter in thy year.
Oh! could I fly, I'd fly with thee;
We'd make a joyful wing,
Our annual visit round the globe,
Companions of the spring.”

Just heard of the arrival of Noah E. Zane¹ with his family

¹ THE ZANE FAMILY.—Wither's Chronicles of Border Warfare, edition of 1895, page 124, says:

“In 1769, Col. Ebenezer Zane, his brothers Silas and Jonathan, with some others from the South Branch, visited the Ohio River for the purpose of commencing improvements; and severally proceeded to select positions for their future residence. Col. Zane chose for his, an eminence above the mouth of Wheeling Creek, near to the Ohio, and opposite a beautiful and considerable island in that river. The spot thus selected by him, is now occupied by his son Noah Zane, Esq., and is nearly the center of the present flourishing town of Wheeling. Silas Zane commenced improving on Wheeling Creek where Col. Moses Shepard now lives, and Jonathan resided with his brother Ebenezer. Several of those who accompanied the adventurers likewise remained with Col. Zane, in the capacity of laborers.”

In a note to the above, Lyman C. Draper says: “These Gentlemen were descendants of a Mr. Zane, who accompanied William Penn, to his province of Pennsylvania, and from whom, one of the principal streets in Philadelphia, derived its name. Their father was possessed of a bold and daring spirit of adventure, which was displayed on many occasions, in the earlier part of his life. Having rendered himself obnoxious to the Society of Friends (of which he was a member,) by marrying without the pale of that society, he moved to Virginia, and settled on the South Branch, where the town of Moorfield has been since erected. One of his sons (Isaac) was taken by the Indians, when he was only nine years old, and carried in captivity, to Mad River, in Ohio. Here he continued till habit reconciled him to his situation, when he married a squaw, became a chief and spent the remainder of his life with them. He was never known to wage war against the whites; but was on several occasions, of infinite service, by apprising them of meditated attacks of the Indians. His descendants still reside in Ohio.”

Isaac Zane was a humane man. Withers says of him, on pages 417 and 418, that a war-party of whites once went to attack the Wyandots. One man was placed near the Indian camp with orders to fire upon the first Indian he saw. Afterward his company

and also E. A. Long. It is said the former intends residing here, having moved bag and baggage. What will the poor

retreated but did not notify him and he was left. He kept his place and when he saw a squaw came out of the woods he shot at her and wounded her slightly in the wrist. He rushed up to attack the camp, and expected the others of his company to support him. It was the hunting camp of Isaac Zane that he had attacked and the girl that he had wounded was Isaac Zane's daughter Sarah. Zane showed the man, that had thus tried to murder his daughter, the way to overtake his companions and even went with him a considerable distance. It is here said also that Zane was only nine years old when captured by the Indians.

It was this Isaac Zane's sister Elizabeth that performed the perilous mission of obtaining powder for the fort at Wheeling, and by so doing made her name immortal. For a good account of this see Wither's *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, pages 358 and 359.

Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio* says of Isaac Zane: "Isaac Zane was born about the year 1753, on the South Branch of the Potomac, in Virginia, and at the age of about nine years, was taken prisoner by the Wyandots and carried to Detroit. He remained with his captors until the age of manhood, when like most prisoners taken in youth, he refused to return to his home and friends. He married a Wyandot woman, from Canada, of half French blood and took no part in the War of the Revolution. After the treaty of Greenville, in 1795, he bought a tract of 1800 acres, on the site of Zanesfield, where he lived until his death, in 1816."—Edition of 1849, page 304.

Zanesville, Ohio, was founded by the Ebenezer Zane hereinbefore mentioned, and who was a brother of Isaac Zane, who was captured. For a full account of the founding of Zanesville. see "Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, Muskingum County."

The following table was given to me by Ebenezer O. Zane, now living on Eighth Street between Everett and Oakland Avenues, Kansas City, Kansas:

Isaac Zane, above referred to and identified, married a half Wyandot and half French woman about the beginning of the War of the Revolution. Her name and clan Mr. Zane did not know. Their children were: 1. Ebenezer; 2. Nancy; 3. Sarah; 4. Elizabeth; 5. William; 6. Isaac; 7. Catharine.

William and Ebenezer married Wyandot women. I was unable to learn their names, or anything of their descendants.

Nancy Zane married Samuel McCulloch. None of their descendants ever removed West. In the treaty of September 29, 1817, made at the foot of the Miami Rapids there was a cession of one section of land "To the children of William McCulloch who was killed in August, 1812, near Maugaugon, and who are quarter blood Wyandot Indians, one section, to contain 640 acres of land, on the west side of the Sandusky River, adjoining the lower line of the tract hereby granted to Robert Armstrong, and extending in the same manner with and from the said river."

I am inclined to believe that it was William McCulloch, and not Samuel McCulloch, that married Nancy Zane. Sarah Zane married Robert Armstrong; Elizabeth Zane married 1st — Robitaille, and 2d, — Reed. Isaac Zane married Hannah Dickinson. Catharine Zane married Alexander Long. Children of Robert and Sarah (Zane) Armstrong: 1. Silas; 2. John McIntyre; 3. Catharine; 4. One, Hannah, that died at the Wyandot mission. Children of — Robitaille and Elizabeth (Zane) Robitaille: 1. James; 2. Robert; — Robitaille died in — year. Children of — Reed and Elizabeth (Zane-Robitaille) Reed: 1. Ebenezer; 2. Eliza. Children of Alexander and Catharine (Zane) Long: 1. Irvin P.; 2. Jane; 3. Ethan; 4. Henry Clay; 5. Mary; 6. Isaac; 7. James; 8. William. Children of Isaac and Hannah (Dickinson) Zane: 1. Noah; 2. Hester; 3. Ebenezer O.; 4. Sarah; 5. Catharine; 6. Hannah; 7. Eliza; 8. John Wesley; 9. William; 10. Isaac.

nincompoop do here? He tried it once before, got frightened, quarreled with his mother-in-law, then sloped back to daddy's house!

Friday, 8.—Clear and pleasant morning, but cold. The feathered songsters are engaged in one general anthem with their mellow throats, rhyming their "Great Creator's praise." Enchanting music!

Received a visit from F. A. Hicks; [we] chatted upon Church matters, abolitionism, politics, &c. With all his instabilities, tergiversations, and inconsistencies, I cannot but admire the man. He has good sense and sound judgment.

Saturday, 9.—Clear and beautiful morning. Noon, clear and warm—looks now like settled weather.

Rev. E. T. Peerey's family, successors of J. W., moved over to-day. So, we have new neighbors. May we live as peaceably and as happily with them as with their predecessors.

Planted three hills of prickly cucumbers for pickles, and also planted 25 hills of Lima beans, said to be of a superior quality.

Sunday, 10.—Clear and beautiful morning—prospect of a beautiful day. Real Missouri summer day. Read, lounged and played the loafer.

Monday, 11.—Commenced ploughing my field; W. Bowers and — Benton employed. Planted some yellow beans. Got a barrel of flour. Made a table. C. B. G. wrathful at the Council for altering his fence for a road. My advice to him was to obey the order, as it was not likely any further alterations in his fences would be required for roads very soon. Thermometer 85°—warm, growing weather.

Tuesday, 12.—Rose early, fine morning. Our oxen had broke out of the pasture and decamped but were shortly afterwards found and put "on Duty." Planted fourteen hills of C. B. G.'s mammoth watermelons; this being about the full of the moon, I want to see what the product will

be, and what real influence the moon has on the vegetable kingdom.¹

Wednesday, 13.—Cloudy morning; afraid we shall have rain today. Heaven forefend! Bestow upon us clear and dry weather till planting is over, that our crops may be abundant and we enabled to reap with joy and gladness. This is “wash-day,” soap-suds, wash-tubs, and dirty clothes.

At 3 o'clock P. M., it rained a clever shower and it remains cloudy and may rain again to-night. Just finished reading “*Nick of the Woods*.” The author betrays most unpardonable ignorance of Indians, their manners and customs, rendering some of his vivid descriptions of wild adventures, truly ridiculous.

Thursday, 14.—Rainy morning—the old song, rain, rain, rain. Everything looks cheerless and dreary. When will the murky clouds cease their lachrymose effusions? Surely they are not needed now. This morning Dr. Hewitt returned from Washington. Not much news. Business could not be made to swim as rapidly at Washington as he supposed, notwithstanding his professed influence over the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He has called a Council for to-morrow when, I suppose, he will make a full development of the result of his mission.

Cleared off, and pleasant at 12 o'clock.

Friday, 15.—Council convened and the Doctor submitted the advice of the War Department to the Chiefs to withdraw their memorial from Congress praying the confirmation of the Delaware purchase, and let the matter be thrown into a tri-party treaty. Question postponed until Thursday next, the regular Council day.

Saturday, 16.—Went to Kansas. Received a letter from J. M. A., in which he manifests a considerable of confidence

¹ Formerly the people had a “time in the moon” for doing each kind of work on the farm, such as planting the various crops, plowing the land, killing animals for food, etc.

in the passage of our improvement appropriation thro' the House of Representatives if it can be called up and a vote taken on the question; but here appears to be the difficulty. He further states that the two payments due on the school fund will be appropriated. News in an authentic shape has reached here of the declaration of war by Mexico against the U. S. and already a part of Gen. Taylor's army is captured by the Mexicans. Shame!

Sunday, 17.—Warm day. 1 o'clock P. M., thermometer in the shade 88°. What will it be in July and August. At 3 o'clock it mounted up to 90°. Received D. W. Deshler's answer.

Monday, 18.—Cloudy, prospect of more rain. It has been thundering all the forenoon, but not any rain as yet. Hope we may have none all this week. I want to plant my corn and sweet potatoes.

Tuesday, 19.—Council met to-day. The delegates instructed to withdraw the memorial praying Congress to confirm the Delaware purchase upon certain contingencies mentioned. Sent them a draft on the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for \$200 out of the annuity for this year for their expenses. Adjourned till Tuesday week.

Wednesday, 20.—Cloudy morning, I opine we shall have rain to-day. At 1 o'clock a thunder storm and shower. Got my seed corn from W. Hunter. The real *Simon pure gourd seed*—the grains as long and nearly as large as horse teeth. I think it a better kind than the large white Tennessee corn. I next want some real Wyandott hominy corn to plant for *roasting ears*, this with me being a great luxury.

Thursday, 21.—Showery all day. Done nothing—a blank. J. Walker set out for Ohio.

Friday, 22.—Weather unsettled. Rained last night. Cleared off and became warm and pleasant. At 2 o'clock commenced planting corn, and finished at 5 o'clock P. M.

Unlucky day though it be, yet I am in hopes it will have no evil effect upon the growth of the corn.

Saturday, 23.—Weather unsettled. Prospect of rain—but it turned out a clear and warm day.

Sunday, 24.—Warm and sultry day. Received our mail, but had but little interesting news. Read all day. In the evening went to Church and heard a sermon from Rev. M^r Duncan, a Cherokee.

Monday, 25.—A clear and warm day. Nothing special of interest occurred. Went to town on a visit to C. G.'s.

Tuesday, 26.—Council day. Met at 11 o'clock A. M. Elected M. R. W. school director, in the place of John Gibson.

Wednesday, 27.—Rained last night; clear to-day and sultry—think we shall have more rain this afternoon. Well, so we did. Sowed radishes and beets.

Thursday, 28.—Rained last night. Clear to-day and sultry. Stuck my peas. Hark! there is a new feathered songster singing melodious music!

That song, sweet bird, once more, oh once again!

Let that rich warble from thy bosom gush;

Delightful memories waken with thy strain,

And o'er my soul with trembling rapture rush.

Friday, 29.—Rained last night as usual. Clear this morning. I opine our rainy season is about setting in and we may shortly expect the annual rise of our rivers. But it is thought by the old inhabitants that the rise this season will not be as great as the two last seasons. If it should prove true, it will be a happy circumstance to that numerous class of residents upon the rich river bottoms.

Saturday, 30.—Clear, cool and bracing morning. We escaped our usual night rains, having passed through the last night without any “droppings” from the clouds; but in lieu thereof we were visited by a certain quadruped gentleman,

whose proximity is always known by a peculiar, nauseating scent he carries about his person, y'clept polecat.

I have adopted a few days ago the Turkish custom of morning *ablutions* as soon as I get out of bed. I strip myself and proceed to the operation with a sponge and cold water, and close with a vigorous and hearty application of a coarse linen towel and cease not the rubbing till my cuticle is excited to a red glow. Then like a good mussulman exclaim "*Allah ach bar*," and proceed to my toilette. What effect this may have upon my health and morals, all trying time alone can determine. It may increase the activity of the circulation of the fluids, and cause a more regular determination to the surface and thereby prevent those ulcers, biles, and sores, I have been so long afflicted with. *Mahomet was a prophet.*

The Missouri is rising rapidly. Just heard that Mr Harper, Col. S. Owen's son-in-law, shot a man in Independence while they were sitting gambling in a room; no one being present, the particulars of the fatal quarrel cannot be given. Presume they [were] intoxicated, and one was perhaps losing money faster than he liked.

Sunday, 31.—Clear morning. Continued warm through the day, but in the evening it became cloudy, and we had a brisk shower. During the day I called upon Dr. H. and spent two or three hours at his house. He was truly soporific, and I had the exquisite pleasure of enjoying my own company.

JUNE, 1846.

Monday, 1.—Farewell, blossom decorated May! Thou hast truly had a tear shedding time of it during your short sojourn with us. It has been shower after shower. Truly thou hast been "in the melting mood," though so often pressed to dry up thy tears and put on a smiling face. But nay. She left us last night in a violent passion and in the

midst of a torrent of grief, and verily, we are not sorry she is gone. And now, smooth-faced June, we bid thee welcome, and trust thou wilt act more seemly than thy predecessor. Wear thy best smiles and let buoyant joy be enthroned upon thy brow.

6 o'clock P. M. It has been cool all day, temperature, 65°. Sun going down clear. No rain to-night I hope.

Tuesday, 2.—Clear and pleasant. At sunrise temperature 60°. Council convened. Transacted various matters, local affairs, etc. Authorized a call of a National Convention to remodel the government, and appointed Thursday next to communicate to the nation, through a committee, the contemplated call. Adjourned. Took tea at S. A.'s, then came home via Pharoah's Lodge.¹

Wednesday, 3.—Dark and cloudy. More rain. Oh! June, June! truly, thou art going to follow the example of thy elder sister, May, whining, crying, weeping, sniveling, and nothing but showers of tears, tears. Shame, shame.

Thursday, 4.—Cloudy and cool, temperature 60°. Fire feels comfortable. *Felicitatus*.

Friday, 5.—Clear and cold. Temperature 60°. Remained cool all night. At 4 o'clock a heavy shower of rain fell. Planted in the field watermelons, muskmelons, cucumbers, and pumpkins. In the night it rain[ed] again. So we have it.

Saturday, 6.—Cloudy, dreary, and cold. Temperature 50°. The Mexican quasi war. Our frontier is all in commotion. Volunteers preparing and organizing, drilling and equipping themselves to "march over the hills and far away" to the Mexican frontier to reap laurels of renown. The worst of all is our government is in fault. We are ac-

¹ The Masonic Lodge of the Wyandot Nation. This name seems not to have been the real name of the Lodge. It had its meetings at the home of Matthew R. Walker. The meetings were informal and not regular communications. No Masonic labor was attempted.

tually the aggressors. This I deeply deplore. Received a letter from H. Barrett—all well.

Sunday, 7.—Clear and cool. Temperature 60°. Pleasant all day. Being unable to walk to meeting, went to town and spent part of the day with C. Graham. The city ice house empty already, even before real warm weather has set in. It melted away, not being put up in the right way. What's to be done now? Drink Kaw water.

Monday, 8.—Clear and cool. Temperature 55°. A general “turnout” of the Wyandotts to-day on the roads, cutting down timber and clearing out as well as widening the road.

Wrote to-day in the agent's office. Came home. Taking the blue mass again. Sweet and delectable morsel! How pleasant art thou to the palate.

Tuesday, 9.—Clear and cool; temperature, 55°. Council to-day. Various, grave, and weighty matters to attend to to-day. 210 Senecas¹ landed to-day from Cattaraugus, Tonawanda and Buffalo, destined to the great Osage River. Indicted C. B. G. for committing a burglary upon the ferry.

Wednesday, 10.—Clear; temperature, 55°. Pleasant to-day. Went to town. Saw M^r Guthrie on his way to Ohio, waiting for a boat. Wrote by him to Col. Goodin again. Visitors to-day; M^{rs} G. and H. Glad to see company.

Thursday, 11.—Nothing worth recording.

Friday, 12.—Cloudy and lowering. Prospect of rain. Held a diplomatic interview with the emigrants, Senecas, from N. Y. Tauroome and Sarrahas being the orators on the occasion [on the part of the Wyandotts]. An eloquent response from an old Seneca Chief.

Saturday, 13.—Staid at Kansas waiting for the mail. News from the Mexican frontier. The American arms victorious.

¹ These Senecas were on their way to the Cowskin River country, in the Indian Territory.

Sunday, 14.—Hiatus.

Saturday, 20.—A violent attack of the pleurisy confines me to the house for four days.

Sunday, 21.—Read all day and played the idle man.

Monday, 22.—Attended Council. No business of importance.

Tuesday, 23.—Worked in the garden and did some “pottering” about the house.

Wednesday, 24.—Staid at home; read all day; and worked some.

Thursday, 25.—Ditto; nothing strange.

Friday, 26.—Got our mail; but no interesting news from Washington.

Hiatus.

JULY, 1846.

Saturday, 4.—News that our bill had passed the Lower House.

Hiatus.

Tuesday, 7.—C. B. G. and Peter Buck arraigned for violently taking the ferry boat from her moorings in the absence of the ferryman; the former fined \$5.00 and the latter \$2.50.

Wednesday, 8.—Committee and Council met again.

Thursday, 9.—General Convention of the Nation at the Church, on the subject of the new government.

Friday, 10.—Staid at home. Did various sorts of work.

Saturday, 11.—Warm and sultry.

Sunday, 12.—Read and lounged. Warm day.

Monday, 13.—Did various sorts of work. Got some cash from Dr. Hewitt on the improvement bill, for present use.

Tuesday, 14.—Myself, wife, and Harriet went to Westport, and returned the next day.

Wednesday, 15.—Came home and found all well.

Thursday, 16.—Hoed my potatoes, and [did] other gar-

dening work. Heard to-day of yesterday's operations in the nominating Convention, thus:

James Washington vs. F. A. Hicks.¹

Tauroomee vs. G. I. Clark.

William Walker vs. J. Walker.

H. Jacquis vs. Sarraheess.

J. W. Gray-Eyes vs. George Armstrong.

Making the Council, after the election, to consist of only four Councillors and a Presiding Chief.

Friday, 17.—Went to Westport and bought a horse at \$45.00. How he may turn out I am unable to tell. He has some good marks about him—has a good walk and travels well; seven years old; chestnut sorrel.

Saturday, 18.—Came home with my horse.

Sunday, 19.—Girls went to the Delaware camp meeting.²

Monday, 20.—Went to the Delaware camp meeting and returned in the evening. Had a pleasant ride.

Tuesday, 21.—Council met; transacted a variety of business, and adjourned till next Tuesday.

Wednesday, 22.—Afflicted with the diarrhea caused by too vegetable a diet. Commenced raining at 7 o'clock and continued a steady rain till 11 o'clock at night.

Thursday, 23.—Clear and beautiful morning.

¹ Francis A. Hicks was the son of John Hicks, who was the last of the hereditary Chiefs of the Wyandots. I have been unable to learn the Clan to which Francis A. Hicks belonged. His name was Tooh'-noh-shah'-teh, the meaning of which is lost. He was born in 1800. He became Head Chief of the Wyandots. He belonged to the M. E. Church and opposed the division of the Church. He was married to Mrs. Matilda Driver, widow of Francis Driver, and one of the many Wyandot women famous in the tribe for intelligence, goodness of heart, and a consistent Christian life. She was a Wyandot only by adoption. Francis A. Hicks was buried in Huron Place Cemetery. The following is copied from the stone over his grave:

Francis A. Hicks
Died
Sept 1855
Aged 55 Yrs.

He was Head Chief at the time the Wyandots removed from Ohio.

² The Delaware Camp-meeting ground was near the present village of White Church, Wyandotte County, Kansas.

Friday, 24.—M^r and M^{rs} Peerey,¹ myself and wife went to M^r Graham's and spent the "arternoon," and supped heartily on a roast turkey, and came home well pleased and satisfied with our visit.

Saturday, 25.—Received a letter from Col. J. Goodin. My land cannot, as he says, command more than \$5.50 or \$6.00 per acre. Good time to sow turnips but [we] have no seed. Alas! alas!

Sunday, 26.—Fine, warm, pleasant day. Thermometer 92°. W. Bowers called and spent a part of the day. Afflicted with something like the gastritis, from which I suffer much pain. At night, quite unwell.

Monday, 27.—Warm day. Feel but little better. Read and lounged.

Tuesday, 28.—Attended Council. Transacted various [matters of] business. Judgment against Joseph Big-Tree and Theo. Standinwater for \$6.00 in favor of John La-Serge,² for a canoe. Took supper at Hunter's. A pleasant party.

Wednesday, 29.—Warm; mercury 96°. Dissolved the W. I. S. C. and proceeded to wind up the institution by collecting the debts and settling off and paying the stockholders. Present: S. A., G. A., W. W.—3. Absent: C. B. G.

Thursday, 30.—Hot enough to turn an icicle into a red-hot spike. Hunted [for] my horse, but could not find [it].

Friday, 31.—We had an awful windstorm or tornado; trees were thrown "helter skelter" in every direction, but no material damage was done.

AUGUST, 1846.

Saturday, 1.—Cloudy morning; prospect of rain. At 1 o'clock it cleared off and was warm all the afternoon. Spent

¹ Governor Walker often writes this name *Peery* and sometimes *Peerey*. He was a Methodist minister.

² One of the Frenchmen who lived in the "bottoms."

the afternoon in company with the Rev. M^r Jordan, Dr. Hand; and W. Twyman¹ called and stayed some time.

Sunday, 2.—Clear and warm day. Went up to see Dr. H., then called upon M^r Graham,² thence home. Got no mail, so no news; too bad, too bad!

Monday, 3.—Warm weather; 95°.

Tuesday, 4.—Attended Council; divorced Margaret Hill from her husband, Russell B. Hill. Appointed Sarrahes, Tauroomee, and George Armstrong a deputation to the Senecas, South. But their departure was postponed in consequence of hearing that a messenger was expected from the Senecas, inviting the Wyandotts to be present at the installation of the new Head Chief.³

Wednesday, 5.—Nothing of interest. Warm, dry weather.

Thursday, 6.—Ditto. *Meme chose.*

Friday, 7.—Sowed some turnip seed in the garden. M^r and M^{rs} Peery and Martha went to the Shawnee Institution⁴ to hear Mr. Patton's Funeral Sermon on the death of M^{rs} Beryman. H. Jacquis and J. M. A. returned.

Saturday, 8.—Five of us assembled at the school house to clear off the ground by grubbing the hazel and alder brush, hauling away rotten logs and clearing away tree-tops thrown down by the tornado, and fixing seats for our approaching "green corn feast," and "barbecue."

In the evening I was attacked suddenly with a pleurisy.

Sunday, 9.—Took medicine. Nauseating doses.—Sick, —sick.

¹ Lived at Independence, Mo.

² Charles Graham, the Agency blacksmith; was from Ohio. Often spoken of in these Journals as C. G.

³ These Senecas lived in the present Seneca Reserve in the Indian Territory, and were sometimes spoken of locally as the "Cowskin Senecas," because the Cowskin River is the principal river in the Reservation. They had lived on land adjoining that of the Wyandotts in Ohio, which the Wyandotts gave them. They belonged to the same great Indian family as the Wyandotts and a close friendship existed between the two tribes at that time.

⁴ The Shawnee Mission near Westport, Mo., but in the "Indian Territory"; mission of the M. E. Church, South.

Monday, 10.—Feel better; and continued so all day.

Tuesday, 11.—[I have] taken a cold by going out in the night, without putting on my clothes, for the purpose of killing a polecat. I am much worse, suffering a great deal. Sent for Dr. Hand. In the evening he came; took a quart or more [of] blood. My respiration much improved. Passed a somewhat comfortable night.

Wednesday, 12.—Resumed my nauseating doses; the violence of the symptoms in some degree abating—feel weak and debilitated—no appetite. Afraid I shall not be able to attend the “Green Corn Feast” and “Barbecue” next Saturday.

Worse. . . .

Five days, insensible.

Wednesday, 19.—Recovering slowly. A complete skeleton.

“Viola le commencement du fin.”

I move about my room,

“Like some town hack that, spavin’d, old and blind,
Moves to the wheezing of his broken wind.”

Hiatus.

SEPTEMBER, 1846.

“Let me think how time is gliding;
Soon the longest life departs,
Nothing human is abiding,
Save the love of humble hearts.
Love to God and to our neighbor,
Makes our present happiness;
Vain the wish, the care, the labor,
Earth’s poor trifles to possess.”

NOVEMBER, 1846.

Tuesday, 10.—Received a letter from Geo. Dickson, informing me that he had succeeded in purchasing from John Edmonson, his farm in Van Buren County, at six hundred dollars.

Hiatus.

Thursday, 12.—Sent \$600. by M. R. Walker to pay Edmonson for his farm, and [to] get the deed recorded.

Hiatus.

Saturday, 28.—Inclosed to J. R. Rowand, Druggist in Philadelphia, \$25.00, two ten dollar bills and one \$5.00. The two tens on the State Bank of Missouri, and the five on the State Bank of Indiana.

Hiatus.

DECEMBER, 1846.

Wednesday, 16.—Pursuant to previous arrangements, the Delaware Chiefs assembled at the school house to Memorialize the President for the appointment of a Commissioner to shape the agreement between the Wyandotts and Delawares into the form of a Treaty so as [to] enable the President and Senate to ratify the same,—but in consequence of Major Cummins not arriving, it was postponed till Monday, 21st instant.¹

Monday, 21.—Sarrahas took sick on Wednesday night, and [on] the Saturday following, at 7 o'clock P. M., he died of a hemorrhage from the lungs.²

Thursday, 24.—Had a wedding at our house. George Armstrong was married to the widow Barnett. Company are Rev. E. T. Peery, James Washington, H. Jacquis, Silas Armstrong, J. M. Armstrong, Widow Charloe,³ M^{rs} Washington, and W. Bowen.

¹ The agreement concerning the "Wyandot Purchase."

² He died on the 18th. He was a good man, with a strong grasp of public questions; he was a fine orator. He is buried in Huron Place Cemetery. The inscription on the stone over his grave reads:

Matthew Sarrahes
died
Dec 18 1846
Aged 60 Yrs.

³ Margaret Charloe was the sister of Henry Jacquis. She married — Charloe. Their children were: 1. John; 2. Hannah; 3. James T.; 4. Robert; 5. Nancy. Robert and Nancy died unmarried. James T. Charloe married Amelia Peacock. They had only one child, Lucy. She married John Winney, a Seneca, and she now lives in the

Friday, 25.—Spent my Christmas in Kansas and Westport.

Sunday, 27.—Set out for Harrisonville in company with Mr Munday to attend a negro sale.

1847.

JANUARY, 1847.

Friday, 1.—In Harrisonville I this day bought at public sale a female slave about 32 years of age, named "Dorcas." If I have erred in this act, may God in his infinite mercy forgive me, though I feel no condemnation for the act. I shall endeavor to come up fully to what was said by the auctioneer who sold her, who said, when it was announced that I was the purchaser, "Now Dorcas, you have a good and kind master."¹

Hiatus.

Seneca Nation. John Charloe married ——. Their children: 1. Jane C.; 2. Margaret. Jane Charloe married John Pipe. Margaret Charloe married Thomas Pipe. After the death of John Pipe, his widow married John Sarrahas. Hannah Charloe married John Barnett. Children: 1. James; 2. Eliza; 3. John Russel; 4. Louis; 5. William. John R., Louis, and William died unmarried. Eliza Barnett married Matthias Splitlog. James Barnett married Jane Tullis. Children: 1. Serena; 2. Martha M.; 3. Henry J.; 4. Silas A.; 5. Izetta. Silas A. died unmarried. Serena Barnett married Alfred Welsh. Martha M. Barnett married William Priestly. Henry J. Barnett married Mary C. Passmore. Izetta Barnett married Oliver P. De Honde. Henry J. Barnett and Mary C. Passmore had one son, William C. Barnett. Mrs. De Honde has adopted him.

¹ The following is a copy of the Bill of Sale given him:

"Know all men by these Presents that we John W. Briscoe and Greenbury Parker administrators of the estate of John Gipson deceased have this day as such administrators for and in consideration of the sum of three hundred and eighty dollars the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged bargained sold and delivered unto William Walker one certain negro woman slave for life aged about thirty five years of moderately dark complexion called and named Dorcas of the property of said estate—to have and to hold said slave unto said William Walker his executors admrs. and assigns forever.

"And we said administrators as the legal Representatives of said decedent do hereby Warrant the title of said negro and that she is of sound mind and body and slave for life—in testimony Whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals (as such administrators) this 1st day of January A D 1847.

(Signed)

"JOHN W. BRISCOE

[SEAL]

"GREENBERRY PARKER

[SEAL]

"Admrs."

FEBRUARY, 1847.

Thursday, 4.—Wrote to [The] General Land Office inquiring what the "Cherokee Boy's"¹ three-fourths of a section amounted to, and what amount would be deducted for expenses.

Hiatus.

Saturday, 20.—Having received J. C. Berryman's deed to-day, I paid E. T. Perry the balance due on the land, \$497.45.

Hiatus.

Thursday, 25.—Wrote to James Dunwoodie, making him an offer for his slave "Ben." R. Gray Eyes was buried.

Miss Peach Blossom gave birth to a fine bull calf, [which I] named "Brutus."

Friday, 26.—Snowing, cloudy, and dark. Snowed all day; prospects of a cold night. Surely there has been a revolution on our terraqueous globe; the frigid zone is taking the place of the temperate.

Saturday, 27.—Weather about ditto. The "Amelia" steamboat came up; the first boat up this season.

Hiatus.

MARCH, 1847.

Tuesday, 2.—Held a session of the Council.

[Wednesday, 3.]—Council met again. Steamboat "John

¹ The Cherokee Boy was Chief of the Wolf Clan of the Wyandots. His Wyandot name was Hah-rohn'-yooch. He signed the Treaty of September 17, 1818, by his mark, and his name is written "Horonu, or Cherokee Boy." On September 20, 1818, he signed another Treaty, and his name is there written "Aronne, or Cherokee Boy." In the treaty of September 29, 1817, is the following grant:

"To Horonu, or the Cherokee Boy, a Wyandot chief, a section of land to contain 640 acres, on the Sandusky river, to be laid off in a square form, and to include ~~his~~ improvements."

It was concerning a part of the proceeds of the sale of this land that Governor Walker was writing to the Government.

The wife of the Cherokee Boy was a Delaware, but she had been adopted by the Wyandots, and into the Wolf Clan. Her Wyandot name was Yahn-yooh'-mehn'-tah. Their marriage was permitted because she was of foreign blood—a stranger. What their names signify I have not been able to learn.

J. Hardin" came up. Sent to the P. O. a letter to Gales & Seaton requesting the "Nat. Int." to be sent to Westport. On the same day [I wrote] to W. B. Thrall of the O. S. Journal¹ to the same effect.

Thursday, 4.—This day Congress, the 29th Congress, scattered to the four winds of the earth. The members thereof [are] never to meet again.

Mrs. W. went to Randolph a shopping.

Friday, 5.—This day I am 46 years of age.

"Time, like an ever rolling stream,
Bears all its sons away;
They fly forgotten, as a dream
Dies at the opening day."²

Saturday, 6.—Paid Dr. Harlan his bill, at Kansas.

Sunday, 7.—Four inches [of] snow on the ground.

Monday, 8.—Cold all day. In the morning the thermometer stood 10° above zero. Boisterous weather.

Tuesday, 9.—Snowed last night. 12° above zero. Stock suffering. Steamboats stopped.

Wednesday, 10.—Cold, dreary weather; at night, snowing. Thermometer 20°.

Thursday, 11.—Weather moderated a little, but [still] cloudy and cheerless. Attended National Council at the Church. New laws enacted. Boundary Commissioners,³ S. A. and M. R. W., appointed; and John Gibson and J. W. Gray Eyes [appointed] Supervisors. Came home [at] 4 o'clock P. M.

Snowing—"storms after storms" succeed storms and snow storms, and storm all the time.

Friday, 12.—Snow storm, as usual. So we go, storm after storm.

¹ *Ohio State Journal*.

² His birthday almost always caused some such sentiment as this to be written in his Journal. There seems to have been ever present with him a full realization of the fleetness of time and the utter worthlessness of all worldly possessions in the hour of death.

³ To fix the western boundary of the "Purchase."

Oh, you hoary headed old scamp! hie you back to your frigid regions. What do you here in the Sunny South at this season of the year? Away with you, with your frosty beard and jingling icicles, no more to be seen till your allotted season.

Saturday, 13.—Clear for once, and prospect for a warm day. Adm's. sale of the chattels of the late Robert Gray Eyes,¹ deceased. J. Walker bought the place at the appraisement. I bought nothing! Came home and read newspapers just got out of the P. O. The papers, however, a "dog's age" old.

Sunday, 14.—Received a letter from my old friend and neighbor, A. Trager. Snowing, snowing, though not cold. Staid at home all day. Dull, dull.

Monday, 15.—At daylight, 2° below zero! Sunrise, clear. Afternoon, cloudy and snowy. Sunset, snowing. Wind from the South.

Tuesday, 16.—Sunrise, 10° above zero. Clear. About to set out for Independence to attend a sale of Cohn & Black's house and lot, and to attend Court, and various other matters.

Wednesday, 17.—At Independence. Bought Cohn & Black's house and lot, \$705.

Hiatus.

Friday, 26.—Came home with the mumps.

Saturday, 27.—Some better. Read all day. Took medicines.

Sunday, 28.—Read, wrote, etc.

Monday, 29.—Sent \$705.00 to the Sheriff by C. Graham, being the price of my late purchase.

Tuesday, 30.—Mild and warm. Suffering from a severe cough. Amused with the company of Mr. Murfee from Independence, who staid all night.

Wednesday, 31.—Beautiful day, warm and pleasant.

¹ Brother of John W. Gray-Eyes.

APRIL, 1847.

Thursday, 1.—All Fool's day, but a very pleasant one. Warm and mild. Wrote to J. R. Rowand informing him when I made the remittance of \$25.00.

Friday, 2.—At 9 o'clock the girls made their appearance after an absence of over six months. They came home to spend their vacation.

Saturday, 3.—We both went to Kansas in company with Henry Jacquis and his team, and brought away our effects stored away in the warehouse, and at the same time acknowledged the execution of a deed before Justice Kaufman, and came home quite fatigued.

Nancy Washington died this morning.

Sunday, 4.—Fine, warm day. The funeral of Nancy Washington takes place to-day.

Monday, 5.—Beautiful weather.

Tuesday, 6.—Attended Council at J. Washington's. Transacted various [matters of] business, and adjourned to the first Tuesday in May next.

Wednesday, 7.—Rolled the logs in the woods pasture. In the evening our old and esteemed friend, Col. W. M. Chick,¹ departed this life. Disease, Gastritis, Enteritis, and Pneumonia.

Thursday, 8.—We attended the funeral. There was a vast concourse of people at the burial.

Friday, 9.—Settled with Thomas Bowers for his work in the woods pasture. Paid him \$23.40. Log-rolled all day for M. R. Walker. A hard day's work!!

Saturday, 10.—Working in the garden. Planted early potatoes, top onions; and sowed onion seed. Planted peas.

Sunday, 11.—Quarterly Meeting. Went to Church and heard a sermon from Mr. Stateler.

¹ I do not know certainly whether he lived in the "Wyandot Purchase" or in the City of "Kansas"; probably in the latter.

Monday, 12.—Wrote to Col. Goodin, authorizing him to accept of Mr Saylor's offer for my land, one-third down and the remainder in two annual payments, without interest. Wrote to Col. Kirby on the Burlingame case. Hauled rails all day.

"Je suis fatigue cum une chevalle."

Mrs. Walker went to Westport to send by D. W. Simpson to New York for some silver plate.¹ J. Walker returned to-day from St. Louis.

Hiatus.

Saturday, 17.—Planted our corn.

Sunday, 18.—Read all day; kept close quarters.

Monday, 19.—Attending to hauling rails and stakes.

Tuesday, 20.—Employed D. Edgington and hand to build a garden and yard fence of paling, at 40c per panel.

Wednesday, 21.—Done and performed various [kinds of] work, such as fencing and the like.

Thursday, 22.—Done nothing, [it] being rather an unpleasant day. *Opened a fresh barrel of sugar.*

Friday, 23.—Rolled the logs in the new field.

Saturday, 24.—Frost this morning. Fine pleasant day. Hands split rails and stakes. Received a letter from Martha.

Sunday, 25.—Answered it [Martha's letter.] Read—staid at home. Had the Hermit's company a half an hour. Interesting colloquy.

Monday, 26.—Beautiful morning. Miss Monk gave birth to a fine heir. They are comfortably quartered in the Woods pasture. One more calf. Stock increasing. What shall I do? I will tear down my old pasture and build a new one. Tut, tut, that won't do. I will enlarge it—yes, that will do. Wrote to J. C. Jackson concerning a receipt given me by Col. Chick.

Hiatus.

¹ The Wyandots always have their silver plate marked with a figure of the animal for which the Clan to which they belonged was named.

MAY, 1847.

Saturday, 1.—Received a letter from M^r Jackson informing me that he had received neither deed nor Col. Chick's receipt by M^r Wilson.

Hiatus.

Tuesday, 4.—Paid by M. R. Walker, the Kansas proprietors, \$50.00¹ for a lot in said town. Council met; transacted various business. Session lasted two days.

Hiatus.

Friday, 7.—Rained. Hunted a stone quarry.

Saturday, 8.—Attended the sale at the Council room, of the goods, chattels, and effects of Nofat, deceased. Bought nothing.

The company then proceeded to the ferry, hauled out and turned upside down the old flat boat, for repairs. G. A. and myself assorted our lumber.

Sunday, 9.—Read, wrote, etc., till 3 o'clock P. M. Then went to church and heard a sermon from M^r Parrott.

Monday, 10.—Tore down *Piert's infamous* chimney intending to put up a new and better one in place. Hired F. Wilson and R. Richardson for a month, each at \$12.00. Rained in the evening.

Tuesday, 11.—Rainy morning. Rained until 2 o'clock. Wrote to Major Harvey a letter of enquiry about the reported removal of C. Graham. Received a letter from John Wheeler.

Wednesday, 12.—Sunrise. Thermometer at "freezing point." A severe white frost! Summoned to attend a Council at the Delaware meeting house to meet a deputation of Pawnees and other wild tribes, on to-morrow. Business unknown as yet.

Thursday, 13.—Attended the Council. The following tribes were represented, viz.: Wyandotts, Delawares, Shaw-

¹ Some idea of the value of town lots in the City of Kansas in those days.

nees, Kickapoos, and Pawnees. Entered into a treaty of peace and amity. This is the first time in my life that I heard the Pawnee language spoken.¹

Friday, 14.—Rained. Edgington and hands making shingles for the kitchen and smoke house. Hauling the hewed timber. To-day our Wyandott volunteers set out on board the "Amelia" for the seat of war.²

Saturday, 15.—Rained nearly all day. Hauled timber. At noon Edgington and hands left for home. Mrs W. went to Kansas. Got no mail. Evening, went out gunning for squirrels,—killed none. Wounded some and scared some terribly!!

Sunday, 16.—Raining, cloudy, and tempestuous. Wrote to Col. Goodin under date [of] the 15th, inclosing him our deed to Mr. Saylor. Wrote to Dr. Boggs enclosing his note given to the proprietors of Kansas for a lot. Cloudy and a drizzling rain. Unsettled weather.

Monday, 17.—Cloudy and cold morning. F. Wilson went to Independence. Sent to the Clerk's office a deed for the certificate and County seal.

Castrated and marked eight pigs. A swallow fork in the right ear.

Tuesday, 18.—Warm and pleasant. Hauling our building timber. Broke our small wagon by Dick's carelessness. Stopped hauling. Waiting for Esau to return my big wagon. Bad luck. *Brimstone, Sour Krout and Assafætida.*

Wednesday, 19.—Prepared the new field for the plough. Esau came with an apology for keeping my wagon, and promised to send it home to-morrow.

Thursday, 20.—Rained last night furiously. Set out fifty cabbage plants. Esau called and informed me that he had

¹ It was determined at this meeting to convoke the tribes of the Northwestern Confederacy and rekindle the Council Fire in the West, so John W. Gray-Eyes told me. The Council was held in October of the following year.

² The Mexican War.

broken my big wagon. Well, if this is not enough to provoke the soul of a saint, I do not know what will. Worked in the woods pasture. Rained all day. The rainy season coming on, and the annual freshet. The Missouri rising.

Friday, 21.—M^r Thompson commenced walling the cellar. Unlucky day for a commencement. Cloudy and lowry; "*looks mighty like rain.*" Hauled logs for my building.

Saturday, 22.—Cold and clear morning, but [we] escaped Jack Frost's clutches.

Hauled a load of stone, and resumed hauling our building timber. Sent by M^r Parrott to the P. O. at Westport to have letters mailed for Hanson, B., J. Wheeler, and A. P. Curry. Received a letter from Deacon Wheeler full of abolitionism.

Sunday, 23.—Staid at home. Read newspapers, and commenced a reply to the Deacon's abolition letter. In the evening went to Church and had a sermon from M^r Parrott.

Monday, 24.—Rainy morning. Started with the team to the stone quarry, but it rained so desperately and [with] no probability of its holding up, [that] we gave up the idea of quarrying *rock*, and came home. To-day F. A. Hicks and Matilda Driver¹ were married. Joy be with them. Cold night.

¹ The Driver Family was an important one in the Wyandot Nation. From what I have been able to learn I conclude that Francis Driver was a Wyandot Indian of not more than one-fourth blood, if even that much. He was the son of a Wyandot Chief named Driver, who is often spoken of by Finley in his Book "Among the Indians." This Chief was one of Finley's principal supporters when he established Methodism in the Wyandot Nation. He signed the Treaty of January 19, 1832. His Wyandot name was Sah-yooh'-tooh'-zhah, the meaning of which is lost. One of Driver's speeches is given in Finley's book at page 436.

In 1823 Jacob Hooper was appointed to the Wyandot Mission by the Ohio Conference of the M. E. Church, held in Urbana. His wife was also appointed to a position (that of teacher) in the Mission. Hooper was from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and he brought with him to the work among the Indians his niece, Miss Matilda Stephenson, who had been brought up at Lancaster. She was scarcely grown up when she arrived at Upper Sandusky. She attended the Mission school awhile after she arrived. Her aunt, Mrs. Hooper, was a teacher in her department and Matilda often assisted her.

Francis Driver was a student at the Mission school; he often saw Miss Stephenson. He was very desirous of marrying her and became an ardent suitor. And in due time

Tuesday, 25.—Clear, cold and chilly morning. Set out with our team and hands for Clark's stone quarry and found excellent building stone. At 10 o'clock Mr Dennis, our carpenter, arrived with his tools. Clear and beautiful day.

Wednesday, 26.—Clear and cool morning. Prospect of a fine day. Hauling stone. Received a letter from Major Harvey announcing the removal of Charles Graham from the public smithshop.

Thursday, 27.—My hands, R. Richardson and F. Wilson left me this morning to go to the Mexican wars. Now my

Francis Driver and Matilda Stephenson were married. Before their marriage Miss Stephenson was adopted by an old Wyandot woman who belonged to the Snake Clan. She thus became a Wyandot of that Clan. Children were born to them that grew up, as follows: 1. Sarah; 2. William; 3. Caroline. Francis Driver and wife came to Wyandotte County from Ohio with the Wyandot Nation. He died here January 24, 1847, and lies buried in the old Indian burying ground in Huron Place. He was 45 years old at his death. His Wyandot name was Teh'-hah-rohn'-yooh-reh', and means "splitting the sky." He belonged to the Big Turtle Clan. After his death Mrs. Driver married Francis A. Hicks. They had no children. Hicks died in September, 1855. He was Head Chief of the Wyandots in 1850. Mrs. Matilda (Driver) Hicks died June 29, 1866, aged 61 years. She lies buried in the Indian burying ground in Huron Place, also. I find the following in my notes on Huron Place Burying Ground:

Francis Driver

Died

Jan. 24, 1847 Aged 45 Yrs.

Matilda Hicks

Died

June 29 1866 Aged 61 Yrs.

Mary A. Driver

Died

Aug 31 1844 Aged 14 Yrs.

Martha Driver

Died

Sept. 13 1844 Aged 11 Yrs

8 Mos, 4 Days.

Sarah Driver married, 1st, Dr. W. A. Payne, of Louisville, Ky., and 2d, Lucian Dagnett, a quarter-blood Peoria Indian. No children by either marriage. William Driver was in the Union Army and died unmarried. Caroline married, 1st, Edward Kirkbride. They had two children, Eugene and Frank. Frank had hip-joint disease and is now a cripple. He is the adopted son of Mrs. Dagnett. She married, 2d, Lewis Lofland. Children: 1. Mary Josephine, now the adopted daughter of Mrs. Dagnett; 2. Charles; 3. Ruth—Died; 4. Annie—called Kittie.

Lewis Lofland lives on his allotment, in the Wyandot Reservation, near Seneca, Mo. Mrs. Sarah Dagnett lives in Seneca, Mo. Her allotment is near the town of Wyandotte, Indian Territory.

work must stop until I can employ some more. Trouble and disappointment.

Friday, 28.—Went to Kansas and employed C. Jondron and Peter Ballanger to work by the day to haul stone.

Saturday, 29.—Bought of Dr. Hand 300 feet of sheeting plank.

Sunday, 30.—Hiatus.

Monday, 31.—Got my mail. Little or no news. Hands returned to work with Peter Balanger and C. Jondron, and a M^r Smiley, carpenter.

JUNE, 1847.

Tuesday, 1.—Rained. "Monsieur Tonson" the mason not "come again" to resume his work. Council day; did not attend owing to illness. J. Walker took my place.¹

Wednesday, 2.—Pleasant and cool. A perfect clatter among the hands, carpenters, teamsters, stonemasons, and other hands employed upon my premises—a perfect Babel.

Thursday, 3.—Rainy day. Work suspended. Cleared up, and operations resumed. Went to Washington's on business, in company with H. Jacquis.

Friday, 4.—Showery all day, but continued our operations all day.

Saturday, 5.—Rained all day till evening. C. Jondron, Ballanger, M^r Dennis and M^r Smiley went home. During the day we were called upon by a M^r Smith, President of the Masonic College at Lexington, who brought a letter of introduction from the girls. Had an interesting colloquy with him upon Indian affairs, customs, and polity, with various other matters.

Sunday, 6.—Went to Church like a good and true Christian. Heard M^r Parrott. Sound and wholesome doctrine.

¹ The Wyandot Constitution required the Council to be full when business was transacted. If a Councilor could not attend he might send a substitute who would represent his views in the deliberations. If he did not send a substitute the Council might designate some one to take his place for that session.

Monday, 7.—Splendid morning. Resumed operations in walling the cellar. M^r Smiley returned. My Francois hands did not return. Sorry for it. Edgington and hands returned. Sorry for that, for I am not ready for them. So it is sorrow upon sorrow. Ahem! 12 o'clock. Heard that Dr. Hewitt had just landed, on his return from the East. I care not a bauble about seeing him. His conduct in removing C. G. meets with my most utter detestation. The motive which prompted him to the step was pure and unadulterated malice. Who is there to rejoice at his removal? None but himself and two A's, that is, Asses, besides himself.

Tuesday, 8.—Went to town, chatted with various persons. People much excited against Dr. H. for his conduct. The A's sycophantically paying their apotheosis to him in the most obsequious manner,—they can truly

“Crook the pregnant hinges of the knee
That thrift may follow fawning.”

I went not nigh the detestable moving mass of corruption.

Wednesday, 9.—About 3 o'clock this morning we were visited by a perfect tornado, with vivid lightning. It seemed as though creation were ripening for its dissolution—earth rocked to its center, and amidst its oscillations, the roar of falling trees and the descent of the cataract of the heavens, rendered the scene, amidst the gloom of night, grand and terrific. Morning disclosed the extent of the destruction, sundry trees blown down, two hats blown away, and a crock of milk submerged!!

M^r C. Columbus McClelland [called] upon us this morning on his way to Fort Leavenworth. The whole country appears to be agog about selling oxen, wagons, provisions, etc., to the commissary and quartermaster, all for the army. Swimming times for speculators, but a “beggarly account of empty boxes” for our National treasury.

My execrations upon the Captain of the steamboat “Ma-

nona" for landing my lumber on the point opposite Wyandott City, instead of our usual landing place. I'll mark that chap—he may fall in my way some of these days, then I'll——.

Thursday, 10.—Commenced raising my kitchen and smoke house—hands scarce. Finished raising the latter at 1 o'clock P. M., then commenced the kitchen. Succeeded in getting the joist plates and porch plates up before adjourning for the night. Thompson, the stone mason, grumbling and complaining all the while. The churlish, selfish, and contrary *being* has given me much trouble, since the carpenters have commenced operations, owing to his being so over captious.

Friday, 11.—Resumed our raising—pleasant day. No hands came. Well, we will do it ourselves and apply the more strength, and what we lack in numbers we will make up in "bone and sinew."

At 11 o'clock completed the raising of our buildings and after dinner "the ghost of unforgiven crimes" (M^r T.) took his departure, and not sorry to be relieved of his company for a season—his incessant cry of "*more rock*" I had become weary of hearing. When there was an abundance of "rock" then something else was wanting, and when that was supplied, his inventive genius would conjure up something else—so on *ad infinitum*.

James Washington called upon me to inform [me] that a special session of the Council will be held to-morrow morning upon the subject of the public blacksmith.

Commenced giving *Nero* sulphur in his food, poor fellow, being afflicted severely with the mange, and dis[tem]per—all caused by impurity of his blood.

Saturday, 12.—Rained last night, but bright and clear this morning—Beautiful summer morn! How bland and balmy is the air! How green and vivifying is the surrounding forest!

“Our fortress is the good green wood,
Our tents the cypress tree;
We know the forest round us,
As seamen know the sea.”

Went to the National Council. Made a desperate speech upon the public blacksmith question. The people, by unanimous vote, placed the stamp of disapprobation upon the sub-agent's conduct in removing the present blacksmith. The Council addressed a communication to Major Harvey upon the subject, remonstrating against the removal. At the same Council we decided not to take up the *War Tomahawk* tendered to us by the Winnebagoes and Pottawatamies against the Sioux. Hands all went home.

Sunday, 13.—Sabbath morning. Sun rose most brilliantly; the large dew-drops falling from the green foliage like spangles from a rainbow, the crystal drops still clinging to the green leaves, reminding one of the garniture of a splendid candelabrum—the sweet and wild warbling of the feathered songsters rendered our forest home altogether lovely and enchanting. Finished my long epistle to Deacon Wheeler on politics, domestic news, abolitionism—a sort of *Salmagundi omnium gatherum* communication.

Monday, 14.—Cloudy and cool. Fireside quite agreeable. Our hands returning to their work.

Tuesday, 15.—Took our team to town for a load of lime and a keg of nails, but owing to the storm returned without either. We two went to M^r Graham's to a dinner party. Meantime Bombastes Furioso (Dr. H.) called upon M^r Graham to inform him of his dismissal from service. Whereupon M^r G. gave him a very plain statement of his opinion of his conduct—some severe home thrusts; “alas! poor Yorick!” Hauled our lime and nails in the afternoon. “Monsieur Tonson” out of humor!

“Always complainin’
Fra mornin’ till even.”

Wednesday, 16.—Cold morning. Thermometer 62°. Comfortable sitting by the fire, but no time to do that, motion, motion, locomotion. Edgington completed his contract and away they went “te hum.” In the evening called to attend the Council. Attended. Adjourned in the night and had a dark walk of it home. Rained furiously last night.

Thursday, 17.—Clear this morning, though the weather is unsettled. To-day the sale of lots in the addition to the town plat of Kansas. Speculators in “corner lots” will doubtless be in attendance. Went to Kansas and bought two lots; one at \$30 and the other at \$29.

Friday, 18.—Rained most furiously. Came home in the midst of a pelting storm.

Saturday, 19.—Commenced ploughing, and while thus engaged was summoned to attend a special Council, called by Dr. H., he wanting an opportunity of explaining his conduct in relation to his removing M^r Graham, and a poor excuse he made of it.

Sunday, 20.—Clear and cool. Must attend the funeral of the Seneca Chief. Learned that the Chief died with the small-pox.

Monday, 21.—Employed M^r Wood to assist Elijah in ploughing the new field. Judge McC., M^r J. Walker, M^{rs} Leonard, called and paid us a visit—staid an hour or two, and proceeded to pay their respects to C. B. Garrett’s family. Had a visit from M^{rs} Graham, and in the evening M. R. W. brought us our mail—welcome!

Tuesday, 22.—Continued ploughing, making pretty good headway, the weather being cool and pleasant. In the evening M^r Graham made us a visit. Judge McC. and party returned this morning to Fort Osage. Adam Brown called upon me to write for him—I put him off to a “more convenient season.”

Wednesday, 23.—Finished ploughing at 10 o’clock A. M.,

and at 12 commenced harrowing. Expecting a mail from Westport to-day, disappointed—too bad! Oh, Cave Johnston, thou art a pink of a P. M. G.¹

Thursday, 24.—Cool and pleasant. Roused from my slumbers by the arrival of the Deacon from his trip down the river. Hauled up his and my effects, such as household goods; harrowed our new field. Planted it in corn this 24th day of June. Whether it will get ripe, time will determine.

Friday, 25.—Clear and cool. “Ding, dong bell” goes the steam boat bell. A boat coming up, puffing, blowing, snorting and roaring from the action of her wheels.

Planted my fall potatoes; planted cucumbers and water-melons. 'Tis now 11 o'clock A. M. Having disposed of my agricultural operations, I can now devote my undivided attention to my “betterments” as the Yankee would say, and get them completed as soon as may be; *arter* this I will do myself the *distinguished honor* of resting from hard labor for a season at least.

Saturday, 26.—Beautiful morning. Commenced plowing through my corn the second time. Discharged M^r Woods, his per diem being exorbitantly high.

Just received a letter from Major Harvey announcing the restoration of C. Graham to his post. Now Doctor—“By St. Paul the work goes bravely on.” What step will you next take to add to your list of already accumulated acts of disinterested patriotism.

My hands are all gone; now we are alone. How lonely, everything still.

Sunday, 27.—Cloudy morning. Prospect of rain. M^r Graham brought me a letter from Col. Goodin. M^r Saylor pronounces my deed good for nothing, informal, sundry, frivolous objections raised to it. Well, be it so. I will keep the land and he may keep his “filthy lucre.”

¹ Postmaster General.

Monday, 28.—Cloudy morning. At 8 o'clock it commenced a moderate rain and rained steadily until half past 3 P. M.

Spent the day with Pharoah and family. On the 19th the present month, N. E. Zane and family retreated from Missouri the second time for daddy's house. Ha, ha, ha, ha-a-a. Starved out. His wife no longer needed by certain libertines—run down to infamy—to the lowest depths—glad you are gone.

Tuesday, 29.—Clear, beautiful morning. Special session of the Council to-day.

Council assembled at 12 o'clock. Divorced Moses Peacock from his wife Mary. So Moses is now a single man. Blessed are the single, for they shall be double (if they desire it). If the countenance be any index to the state of the "inner man," Moses left the Council room a happy man.

Addressed a communication to Major Harvey in reply to his, announcing the restoration of Mr Graham. Dr. H. very sullen. Would not come near the Council.

Wednesday, 30.—Staid at home all day after my return from the ferry. Wrote a long letter for Adam Brown to Col. John Prince of Sandwich. To-night feel quite unwell. I fear it is a precursor of an attack of the billious fever.

JULY, 1847.

Thursday, 1.—Fine morning. Clear and cool atmosphere. This has been a remarkably cool summer this far, the mercury in the thermometer seldom getting higher than 75°, and often below that. It is said that by some late observations made through Lord Ross's great telescope that there are large spots on the sun's disc by which the power of the sun is diminished, hence our cool summer. What has come over old Father Sol, that he should now, in his old days, become so silly and vain as to resort to daubing his face with paint!

Wife rode out to visit the sick. Sickly time in Wyandott City. The complaint appears to be a typhoid fever. Just heard that M^{rs} Palmer is dead.

Friday, 2.—M^r Hightower commenced going through my corn, the garrulous old Turk! I am sick of him. Why his tongue is [in] *perpetual motion*. It is nothing but one eternal clatter.

Saturday, 3.—Got an Ohio Statesman. Not much news. Hightower finished his job at noon and put out.

Sunday, 4.—Quite unwell. Rheumatic affliction in the head, which is so painful, especially in the afternoon, as almost to set me distracted.

M^{rs} Graham very sick. News announced in the Statesman, that in consequence of the defalcation of Col. Huber, a loco foco, Receiver of Public Monies in the Land Office at Upper Sandusky, Col. Purdy McElvain, another loco foco of course, has succeeded him in wearing "the blushing honors," and fingering Uncle Sam's cash. This is truly a streak of good luck for Purdy.

Monday, 5.—Sick, loss of appetite. Nerves unstrung. My head disordered. All sick. I would sell myself for a sixpence. M^r Dennis returned to-day in company with a M^r Smith, a journeyman carpenter.

Just heard of the return of Isaiah and Irvin. Our sick neighbors no better, particularly M^{rs} Graham and William Garrett.

Tuesday, 6.—Had a sick and restless night. Cloudy morning, prospect of rain. To-day is our regular Council or Court day, and I ought to attend its session, but how can I? William G. no better. I fear for him.

3 o'clock P. M. William is dead! alas! alas! our worst fears are realized. Finished a letter to Martha. Upon going to bed I had placed upon the nape of my neck a large blister plaster, for a neuralgic affliction in my head.

Wednesday, 7.—Ah, misericordie! Dress my blister! I am a complete scald. Got the poll evil in full fruition. Dr. Hand called to see me in the evening. Gave me some advice and left some medicines. Slept comfortably through the night. M^r Davis staid all night with us.

Thursday, 8.—Took a Seidlitz drink, feeling somewhat feverish and thirsty. Had a most refreshing shower. Oh, what a change in the atmosphere. How balmy and fragrant is the air!

Aye, strike up your music ye little feathered songsters.

Friday, 9.—M^r Davis arrived at about daylight and informed us that our esteemed friend, M^{rs} Graham, died this morning, within ten minutes of 3 o'clock. Here I will say that if I had a female friend on earth, one that was no kin to me, whose friendship was solid and enduring, earnest and sincere, it was the lamented M^{rs} Mary Graham. I lament deeply that in the order of Providence I was denied the pleasure of seeing her during her illness, being confined by sickness. Peace to her remains, and my blessing on her memory.

Wrote a long letter to Col. Goodin upon the subject of the failure of his sale of land made for me.

Saturday, 10.—I've got the poll evil. The blister on the back of my neck raises such a stench that——

Wife gone to Kansas for our mail, finding everybody else too lazy to go. Warm day, thermometer 86°. On retiring to bed, "*I tuck a dose of calomy*," as M^{rs} Hodge would say.

Sunday, 11.—Weak and debilitated, no appetite. Warm day, sultry and oppressive. No circulating air. Thermometer 85°.

Monday, 12.—Passed a most dismal night. Was racked with pain to a degree sufficient to send me distracted. O, neuralgia! Thou art the very prince of all complaints.

“ When fevers burn or ague freezes,
Rheumatics gnaw or colic squeezes,
Our neighbor's sympathy may ease us,
Wi' pitying moan;
But thee, thou hell o' a' diseases,
Aye mocks our groan.”

Tuesday, 13.—Rested tolerably well last night, after trying a new nostrum, viz: bathing my head in the water in which potatoes had been boiled. Whether there be any efficacy in it or not, time alone will determine.

Wrote to A. R. Curry again upon the subject of the \$30.00 loan. I expect the villain intends to swindle me out of it. 'Tis said he is a most accomplished villain, that while studying theology and preparing himself for the ministry, he was at the same time studying with commendable industry the fine arts of villainy. Well, he has made great proficiency in the latter science, as C. B. Garrett can testify to his sorrow.

His epitaph should be thus:

ON A CELEBRATED PRESBYTERIAN PREACHER.

“ Here Mr. Curry in death doth sleep;
To h—l if he's gane thither,
Satan gi'e him thy gear to keep,
He'll hold it well thegither.”—*Burns.*

Warm day, thermometer 88°, no wind stirring, rendering the atmosphere oppressively sultry. M^{rs} Russell left the Deacon's in a flurry. Something wrong here.

Wednesday, 14.—Rested well last night. My complaint is leaving me. I have now been free from it for thirty-six hours. Potato soup has been the catholicon in this case. What a discovery. Hear it ye sufferers with rheumatics, sciatica, neuralgia, etc. Boil a dozen or more potatoes till they are thoroughly cooked; bathe the afflicted parts three or four times a day while the water is warm.

By to-day's mail I received a letter from Col. Goodin informing me that he had made another sale of my Hardin County lands to a M^r Greer of Knox County, and at the same

time inclosing a blank deed, and what is still better, the pay is *d'argent comptant*. So Mr Saylor may hunt for lands elsewhere.

Thursday, 15.—To-day the assembled nation nominates candidates to run against the chiefs at the August election. I concluded it would not be safe for me to venture out to encounter solstitial sun in my present weak condition. So I staid at home. Had to dine with us that man of affliction and many troubles, Mr Graham. He is recovering from his illness.

Friday, 16.—Finished the "Mountain Siege" for John Shunk's paper, occupying ten closely written pages. Wrote an obituary notice of Mrs G. for the "Expositor."¹

Saturday, 17.—Wife started early this morning for Westport on business and to get our mail if any. Strolled over to Deacon Peerey's and spent an hour in social chat to drive away ennui. Tried to invoke the muses, but 'tis no use. Parnassus Hill, to me, is an unknown Eldorado. I am as ignorant of its locality, its hills, its rivers, bays, springs, etc., as I am of "Symme's hole" where Reynolds says "all the game in the arctic regions retreat to for refuge in the winter."²

Received a batch of newspapers, new and old, so I have *new news and old news*. Sultry evening. At night our rest was disturbed by a troop of dogs, which did us the honor of a most unmusical serenade. To show them how much I appreciate their civilities, I went out with my double barreled gun, and fired a salute, leaving one of their party *dead*

¹ Published in Cincinnati, Ohio.

² Captain John Cleves Symmes, for six years from 1818, a resident of Newport, Kentucky. He was an eccentric man and evolved a *New Theory of the Earth* called "The Theory of Concentric spheres." He maintained that the globe is composed of a number of hollow spheres, having spaces between them occupied by atmospheres, and that these shells were widely open at both poles, and that the concave surface of the outer shell, and probably of them all, is inhabited by various kinds of inferior animals, and by intelligent beings resembling ourselves. Captain Symmes's drawings illustrating his theory were reproduced a few years since in the *Southern Bivouac*, a magazine published at Louisville, Ky.

on the spot. Whereupon they stopped their music and dispersed.

Sunday, 18.—Cloudy; some prospect of rain. Commenced raining in the afternoon and rained a most refreshing shower till night. What a change hath this much needed and much prayed for rain wrought in the face of nature! How pure and balmy is the air.

Monday, 19.—Clear and beautiful morning. Set out to pay a visit to J. Walker, who is still sick. Found him laboring under a great nervous irritability. Staid till after dinner. Then called upon C. Graham. They are all getting better. Hunter still sick. Old complaint. Warm and sultry.

Tuesday, 20.—Wrote to the girls. Heard from J. W. through Uncle James. Symptoms some better, less nervous. Deacon Peery gone to the institution. "More lumber" is the cry of my carpenter. My curse upon the wasteful rascals, it would keep a steam saw mill going to keep them supplied with lumber. Thundering, perhaps more rain. "So mote it be."

Wednesday, 21.—No rain, nor sign nor indication of any, —sultry.

Wrote to J. R. Rowand. Went to gather blackberries. Too warm to gather many so I sounded a retreat home, contenting myself with a couple of quarts of the fruit.

Thursday, 22.—Went to the village. Paid a visit to J. W. He seems to be getting better. Received an invitation to attend the great barbecue at Independence. I may go, can't tell yet, depending upon my colleagues the Chiefs, as the invitation is to the Council.

No news by yesterday's mail.

Friday, 23.—Beautiful morning, but a prospect for a warm day. On my way to Weston, hired M^r Hightower to clear out my new corn field and hoe my potatoes.

Saturday, 24.—In Weston. Can purchase no lumber.
Hiatus.

AUGUST, 1847.

Monday, 9.—Bought of a Shawnee Indian a pony in Kansas for \$8.00 and I have called him "*Cato*." He is a pretty little fellow.

Engaged a M^r Bowring to do the lathing and plastering, 14c per square.

Friday, 13.—Engaged a Mr. Shaw to build my chimneys.

Saturday, 14.—John Lynch commenced work at \$14.00 per month. A real son of the "Emerald Isle."

Hiatus.

National election and barbecue. The old Council re-elected.

SEPTEMBER, 1847.

Saturday, 11.—M^r Keyser and M^r Taylor commenced boarding.

Hiatus.

OCTOBER, 1847.

Monday, 4.—Hannah Walker went down to Kansas to take the boat for Ohio to-morrow morning; be gone perhaps seven weeks. A pleasant and prosperous trip to her.

Tuesday, 5.—Dr. Hewitt commenced paying the annuity to the Wyandotts and they, after receipting, paying their respective dividends over to the Chiefs in order to rebuke and defeat the officious interference of the Government in the distribution of the annuity.¹

Wednesday, 6.—Continued the same.

Thursday, 7.—Same.

Friday, 8.—Same.

Saturday, 9.—The Chiefs commenced paying out.

¹ It seems that heretofore the annuity had been paid to the Chiefs, and by them to the people.

Sunday, 10.—Wrote to M^{rs} W. for Wednesday's mail.

Monday, 11.—Commenced paying again.

Tuesday, 12.—M^r Bowring finished his work.

Wednesday, 13.—Paid him off, so I am done with him and his loafers and his carrion horses.

Thursday, 14.—Severe frost last night. Resumed the payment of the annuity. M^r Fish and Hetty were married.

Friday, 15.—Wrote to M^{rs} W. to go by Saturday's mail.

Saturday, 16.—Continued the payment.

Sunday, 17.—Staid at home, read the news, etc.

Monday, 18.—Resumed operations; busy times. Everyone in motion to gain "*multum pecunia*" if he can, and if he cannot he must go *minus*.

Tuesday, 19.—Closed the payment! *Felicitatus*.

Wednesday, 20.—John Walker left in no very good humor, not meeting with as good success in his collections as he expected.

Thursday, 21.—Sick, took medicine. Staid at home.

Friday, 22.—Went to Kansas. Made some purchases; came back by dinner time.

Saturday, 23.—Commenced a letter to Harriet. At night attended a meeting of the directors of a joint stock company. Came home after midnight.

Sunday, 24.—Read all day. Lonesome, melancholy.

Monday, 25.—Done nothing, but "pottered" about the house.

Tuesday, 26.—Finished Harriet's letter and one to M^{rs} Walker for to-morrow's mail.

A Council held to-day to investigate a case between F. A. Hicks and Adam Hunt—a paltry affair, truly to cause the Council to convene in a special session.

John Lynch hauling stone to-day.

Wednesday, 27.—Ditto.

Hiatus.

Thursday, 28.—Staid at home and thought of Hannah and longed for her return.¹

Friday, 29.—Went to town to purchase marketing.

Saturday, 30.—Went to the P. O. for my mail.

Sunday, 31.—Hiatus.

NOVEMBER, 1847.

Thursday, 11.—Received a letter from J. W. Garrett announcing the safe arrival of M^{rs} W. at Upper Sandusky on the 26th ultimo, making the trip from this place to Upper Sandusky via Wheeling in twenty-one days, at the same time visiting her friend in Belmont County on her route. This is rapid traveling.

Friday, 12.—My Irishman left me without *leave or license* and that at a time when I most needed his services. My curses on the ungrateful wretch; I understand he is at Kansas paying his devotions to that most potent of all deities to us poor sinners *Bacchus*.

Saturday, 13.—A most Labradorian day. It rained, hailed, and snowed, in an horrible tempest all day.

Sunday, 14.—Read newspaper for news, but found none of interest. Betook myself to a "*brown study*."

Monday, 15.—Staid at home and attended to my domestic affairs.

Tuesday, 16.—Attended Council. Transacted a variety of business. Wrote to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs upon the subject of the blacksmith shop.

Wednesday, 17.—Staid at home as usual.

Thursday, 18.—Went to Kansas and attended to securing my two lots, and attended Dr. Hand's wedding. Joy attend him and his bride.

Friday, 19.—Came home.

Saturday, 20.—M^{rs} W. and Martha returned.

¹ No man was ever more devoted to his family than was Governor Walker to his.

Sunday, 21.—Staid at home.

Monday, 22.—Went to Kansas to purchase marketing.

Tuesday, 23.—Attended Council. Revised our National Code.

Wednesday, 24.—Rose early and found ourselves enjoying a most delectable *snowstorm*, the first we have had this fall.

Thursday, 25.—Cold and severe morning. Dreary morning. Winter on hand. Went to town for news, but got none.

Friday, 26.—This morning the thermometer stood 3° above zero. Whew! Cold morning, blustery day. Bought 393 pounds of pork of M^r Roberts of Clay County. Hauled it from the "sand bar" home.

Commenced reading the —

Saturday, 27.—Clear and pleasant morning. Cut up my pork and salted it away. This I always do myself if able. Warm and pleasant.

Sunday, 28.—Cloudy and cold morning. Commenced a letter to J. W. Garrett. My mind is foggy this morning, and cannot write anything worth reading, so I will lay my letter aside till I conjure up a little common sense.

Monday, 29.—Clear and pleasant. Finished a long letter to J. W. Garrett to go by Wednesday's mail.

Heard that James Washington was ill of a violent attack of the pleurisy; saddled my horse and went to see him; found him dangerously ill. While there sold my horse *Juniper* to the widow Russia Hicks. In the evening had a visit from C. Graham who staid till bed time.

Tuesday, 30.—A stormy morning, snowing and sleeting. Bella horrida. Received a letter from John Goodin upon business. The Council meets to-day.

Adjourned at 4 o'clock P. M. to meet the National assembly at the old Church.

DECEMBER, 1847.

Wednesday, 1.—The first day of winter. Autumn went off in a rather gruffy mood, leaving behind an horrible rain storm. This morning the sun rose clear and smiling. Pleasant morning. Cold and cloudy in the afternoon. Rained at night.

Thursday, 2.—Cold and cloudy. Fair prospect for a snow storm. Winter has now fairly set in. Cold raw and blustery day. In the evening M^r Asbury King of Kansas came and made application for the school. Postponed for the consideration. Staid all night.

Friday, 3.—Clear and cold morning. Thermometer 10° below zero. Prospect of a fine day. M^r Phips, a pianist, called upon us and spent the day in tuning Sophia's piano. Staid all night. Mild and pleasant night.

Saturday, 4.—Pleasant morning. Fine day for business. I must be up and doing.

Harlan Riggs and William McDowell finished their job of cutting cord-wood. Paid them off and they *put out*.

Sunday, 5.—Visited S. Armstrong; passed a half hour in chit chat. Came home and staid "te hum" all day. Read, wrote and loafed.

Monday, 6.—Went to town. Came back and hauled wood. M^{rs} Washington called upon us and inform[ed] [us] that the Chief is recovering from his illness.

Tuesday, 7.—Went to town. Sophia taken sick from a violent cold.

Engaged M^r Noble to build a corn crib and shed eighteen feet square. In the evening the sky became black and distant thunder was heard. At sunset we had a heavy rain-storm, which lasted till 8 o'clock. Then turned cold during [the] night. "*It snowed, then it friz.*"

Wednesday, 8.—Keen, frosty morning. Replied to Leonard Smalley's letter upon business. To-day being the day

appointed for the National Convention to hear the new code of laws read and proclaimed, I beg leave to stay at home if you please, gentlemen.

Thursday, 9.—[This] morning at daylight, snow on the ground. Employed M^r Bowring to underpin my porch. He went to work. M^r Estes, the hog in principle, put out instead of staying to help M^r Bowring as he promised; but having secured his supper, lodgings, and breakfast “put out.” Out upon such *imposing churls!* John Lynch called upon me and begged me to take him into my employment again. I told him nay, verily, I will have nothing to do with him nor any other man in whom no dependence can be placed. So he gathered up his *duds* and put out.

C. Graham called and spent the evening.

Friday, 10.—Keen sharp morning. Dr. Hewitt called to see Sophia. Pronounced her mending. M^r Bowring finished underpinning the kitchen porch. M^r Peery came over and spent the evening. Clear night.

Saturday, 11.—Saddled up Dragon to go to town, but went no farther than H. Jacques’s; lent him my horse and came home. The payment of the Cherokee Boy’s money postponed until Monday. James Washington getting well. Cold nights and warm days.

Sunday, 12.—Staid at home, read and wrote. M^r Kezor and M^r Taylor left for Kansas, having completed their work on the new Church.

Monday, 13.—Went to town. Transacted some business, Came home and staid there for that day.

Tuesday, 14.—Dr. Hewitt paid to the legatees of Cherokee Boy the amount due them, being \$1,833.00. A general payment of debts then took place.

Wednesday, 15.—Went to Kansas to make oath to my statement in regard to some matters pending between the Isaac Zane’s family and John Walker.

Thursday, 16.—Got my mail out of the P. O. No news. One letter from Harriet.

Friday, 17.—Staid in Kansas and rambled over the town viewing its advantages and disadvantages in a commercial point of view. The long promised steam saw-mill, not yet in operation. Why this delay? Echo answers why.

Saturday, 18.—After the mail came in, took French leave and came home.

Sunday, 19.—Having a violent cold, staid at home, instead of going to hear the Deacon's dedication sermon in the new Church.

Monday, 20.—Cold morning. Mercury within eight degrees of zero. Cold all day. Made out an old unsettled account against S. Armstrong and sent it down by H. to Kansas for settlement and allowance, and got a bill of family goods thereon. Mr Dennis returned.

Tuesday, 21.—Mercury nearly at zero. At daylight 5°. To-day is Council day, and to-night the directors of the J. S. Company meet. Owing to the continued illness of the Principal Chief, the Co[uncil] adjourned till next Tuesday. No meeting of the J. S. Co.

Wednesday, 22.—Went to town. Came home and staid at home. Reading the "Wandering Jew."

Thursday, 23.—Mr Dennis presented his bill. *Jupiter Stator, thou ancient preserver of Rome, what a bill.* Well, presenting a bill is one thing, and getting it paid is another.

Friday, 24.—Bought in company with E. T. Peery, a potato hole of James Rankin, the contents of which we hauled home. Received an application from D. Young for the ferry.

Saturday, 25.—*A merry Christmas to you all!*

Went to Church. The annual Christmas sermon was preached by Rev. L. B. Stateler. Came home and found Mr C. Graham domiciliated by my fireside. Took a (Christmas toddy and) social chat. He put out, and I to my chores.

Sunday, 26.—Mercury 6° above zero. Cloudy morning. “Keen blows the wind and piercing is the air.” But we will repair to the sanctuary, lest we become infidels and deny the faith. Rev. L. B. Stateler preached. Then a subscription was opened for the finishing [of] the church. Subscriptions were liberal.

Attended church at candle-light. Esqr. Gray Eyes as usual gave us some of [his] ravings and rantings in the way of exhortation. Came home at 9 o'clock and —

Monday, 27.—Meeting continued. Went to H. Jacquis's and spent a part of the day, the election of a ferryman being the topic of conversation, the candidates are D. Young, Tall Charles, Charles Split-The-Logs.

Tuesday, 28.—Council met at James Washington's. Proceeded to the election of a ferryman, and resulted in the election of D. Young. Received a message from the Delawares, informing us that they had received information of the appointment of two commissioners on the part of the Government to enter into a tri-party treaty upon the matter of the cession of land by the Delawares to the Wyandotts—whether this be true or not seems somewhat problematical.

Wednesday, 29.—Feel unwell. Weather unusually warm. “Summer heat.” Staid at home. H. Jacquis called upon me; chatted upon politics. Went to town in the evening.

Thursday, 30.—Warm. M^r Noble called. Went to M^r Cotter's, bought some tallow. Called at H. Jacquis's and found him sick with the pleurisy. Returned to him in the night and gave him some medicine. Left him at 8 o'clock.

Friday, 31.—Called upon H. J. Found him some better. Came home. 12 o'clock, “Summer heat.” Unhealthy weather.

Dorcas returned from her visit to Kansas.

Something suspicious going on at the Deacon's. More women there than is common. Well, my suspicions are con-

firmed. The Deacon has had the good fortune to have a son born to him on the last day of the year, 1847. Watch night at the Church.

JANUARY, 1848.

Saturday, 1.—A happy new year to ye all! I attended in company with the Deacon and J. M. Armstrong, on the other side of the Missouri River, to purchase marketing. Bought eight bushels of apples and a bag of corn meal. Got my effects home. The family attended the party at J. M. Armstrong's. Came home at 9 o'clock. No mail. Heard the report of fire arms all day at Kansas. These are doubtless salutes. Silly fellows. This looks too puerile for men.

Sunday, 2.—Sabbath. Our folks being desirous of going to Church, I staid at home to keep house. C. B. G. called upon me and showed me a letter from John Walker, containing some menacing threats to the Wyandotts. Poor vindictive creature, spare thy malice, thy impotent rage. You can not browbeat the Wyandotts into anything wrong.

Monday, 3.—Mrs. W. went to Kansas and I worked upon my smokehouse. Signed a recommendation in favor of F. Cotter, who is an applicant for the Shawnee ferry.

Tuesday, 4.—This being Council day, I must attend. H. Jacquis being sick, his place must be supplied by a substitute as the law provides. The girls are going to Kansas on a visit to the Chick family.

Wrote to Col. Goodin upon the subject of the patents sent to him in October last.

Wednesday, 5.—Cold morning, thermometer 15° above zero. Called upon H. Jacquis and found him much worse.—I entertain serious fears—he is laboring under a severe congestion of the lungs.

Hauled wood. Went over to see Jacquis, found him worse. Symptoms alarming—bathed him in hot spirits. Came away in the evening.

Thursday, 6.—Went over early to see Jacquis. Alas! my fears were realized. He departed this life at 12 o'clock at night. The Council assembled at my house to make arrangements for the funeral, when the following program was agreed upon: the funeral to take place to-morrow at 11 o'clock, the procession to march under the direction of the marshal, to the Church, where an oration will be delivered on the life and character of the fallen Chief. Then to close with religious services. Thence to proceed to the burying ground. After the funeral service is read, then the burial and benediction.

Orator of the day, W. W.

Chaplain, Rev. E. T. Peery.

Marshal, S. Armstrong.

Friday, 7.—Beautiful day. The solemn ceremony of the burial took place in accordance with the above arrangements. Never have I seen so large a concourse of Wyandotts on a similar occasion.¹

Saturday, 8.—Rose at 5 o'clock. Fury, how it [is]

¹ Henry Jacquis belonged to that part of the Wyandot Nation composed of the Barnett and Charloe families. Margaret Charloe was a sister of Henry Jacquis. He was a good man and highly esteemed by the Wyandots. J. M. Armstrong named a son for him. He was more French than Indian. The Wyandots pronounced the name "Jocko." I find the following in the "History of American Missions" (Worcester, 1840), page 722: "The Rev. William D. Smith, having been appointed missionary to the Western Indians, was set apart for that work by special prayer in the Presbyterian church at Cross Roads, Washington County, Pa., on the 12th of May, 1833. He immediately commenced his journey to the west, on an exploring tour. On the 19th of June, he arrived at the house of Mr. Joseph Barnett, near the mouth of the Kansas river, about 350 miles from St. Louis. Mr. Barnett's grandfather was a white man, who had been made prisoner by the Indians almost in infancy. Always residing among them, he knew nothing of his parentage, and was a complete Indian in all his habits of thought, feeling, and action. His son, the father of Joseph, resided at Lower Sandusky, in the northern part of Ohio. Here he first heard the gospel in 1801, from the Rev. Mr. Hughs, who had been sent as a missionary explorer among the Indians by the Presbytery of Ohio. His meditations on what he had heard, and the labors of the Rev. George Scott among his people the next summer, led to his conversion. He was the 'Wyandot Chief' whose history has been published by the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society." Joseph Barnett had married a Shawnee girl, who had been educated at the Maumee Mission, and in 1832 removed with the Shawnees to their Reservation near the Missouri. (See my note on the Charloe Family for further information about Jacquis.) He was buried in Huron Place Cemetery, but no stone remains to point out his grave.

snowing. Increasing in violence—a regular “nor’ easter.” Kept close quarters. At one half past one o’clock, snowing furiously, rivaling the snow storms of Nova Scotia.

Sunday, 9.—Coldest morning we have had this winter. At sunrise the thermometer stood 20° below zero. Last night at 8 o’clock it was 5° above. Here is a fall of 25°.

Monday, 10.—Cloudy. At sunrise the temperature at zero. Kept close quarters all day. Read, wrote, and pondered over matters in futurity. M. R. W. hauled me a load of fodder.

Tuesday, 11.—Weather cloudy and moderate. Sent two letters to the office, one to Harriet and one to M^{rs} Barrett, Senr. Called upon the widow Jacquis. In the evening, cut her some wood. M^{rs} W. went on a visit to C. B. G.’s. M^r Barstow came and spent the evening with us.

Wednesday, 12.—M^r Peery brought our mail, but not having time to read now, I will lay my papers aside “till a more convenient season.”

M^r Dennis brought M^r Waldron to examine the carpenter work done by him on my house and fix upon the price.

Thursday, 13.—Dark foggy and misty morning. Sent to the P. O. an obituary notice of the death of Henry Jacquis to the editor of the Ohio State Journal. Went to town. No crossing the Kansas river in consequence of the thawing of the “ice bridge.”

Friday, 14.—The weather continues the same as yesterday, damp, foggy and cloudy. I hear of our people being sick. Unhealthy weather. Thermometer temperate.

Saturday, 15.—Some colder this morning, having frozen some last night. Went to M. R. W.’s and got the oxen. Cut and hauled some wood for the coming week. This thing of chopping is not quite so agreeable to “*flesh and blood*” though I do not think it, as an employment, very injurious to the flesh, blood, or bones.

In the evening Uncle James Rankin came and spent the evening with us. Clear and beautiful moonlight night.

Sunday, 16.—Wrote a letter to Jesse Stern upon land business and wrote also to Hugh Barrett a friendly communication.

Our folks returned from meeting and informed [us] that Esq. Gray Eyes handed a letter from Rev. J. B. Finley to be read to the congregation. It being read in Wyandott its contents were not fairly understood.

Monday, 17.—Clear and beautiful morning.

Called upon M. R. W., he being sick with a violent cold, and found him improving. Went to town. No ferrying, the river being frozen over.

Mr Dennis brought over Mr Waldron's award. *Jupitator* what a bill. At the prices fixed in the award, a carpenter will make in a year \$1,700, and be boarded besides. Carpenters ought to become rich at these rates, but Mr Dennis and I settled without any reference to the award. In the evening visited the Deacon.

Tuesday, 18.—Council met and after some small matters were disposed of proceeded to the election of a councilor to supply the vacancy caused by the death of H. J. After several ballotings George I. Clark was elected to serve till the 15th of August ensuing.

Wednesday, 19.—Staid at home and did but little.

Thursday, 20.—Hiatus.

Friday, 21.—Went to Kansas and got mail.

Saturday, 22.—Mr Thos. Dennis called for his pay. Paid him, not wishing to be in debt to such a whining, simpering, and *over honest* man.

Sale of H. J.'s property took place under the management of G. I. Clark and James T. Charloe, administrators. Property sold enormously high. Bought nothing "*as is my wont*" in such cases.

Sunday, 23.—Sick. Staid at home of course.

Monday, 24.—Employed M^r Noble to assist me to haul some wood and fodder.

Tuesday, 25.—Council met. Transacted sundry business. Appointed G. I. C. and J. M. A. a committee to call upon Major Cummings, Indian agent, and make certain inquiries about the appointment of commissioner to conclude a tri-party treaty between the Wyandotts, Delawares, and the U. S.

Wednesday, 26.—Went out gunning, but killed nothing. Went to town—Found the Kansas river rising.

Thursday, 27.—Tore down my shed and did sundry other *nasty jobs*. In the evening a M^r Waldo of Independence called and staid all night. Had a long and interesting confab with him. A democrat “dyed in the wool.” Deacon Peery called and chatted about the on dits of the day.

Friday, 28.—Beautiful morning. The weather looks like spring. At 1 o'clock the thermometer “temperate.” Called over to M. R. W.'s, not at home. F. A. H.'s negro ran away. He and John Lynch gone in pursuit of him.

“Niggur Sambo run away.

Didn't come back till Saturday.”

No news. Ennui!

Saturday, 29.—Cold and cloudy. Went out this morning in the hopes of killing some game, but killed nothing but a squirrel. Poor reward for my toils. *I'll have it for dinner*. Sent to the P. O. At 2 o'clock P. M. it commenced raining. Reading Albert H. Gallatin's article on the Mexican war. So far I regard it unanswerable. Dark, rainy, and gloomy night.

Sunday, 30.—Rainy morning. M^r Graham called for a day's visit. Just heard of the death [of] Tauroomee's wife Theresa. She was an amiable woman, affectionate, sociable, and agreeable. 3 o'clock P. M., snowing. Phœbus! What weather!

Monday, 31.—At sunrise the thermometer stood 15° above zero. Prospect of a warm day, this last day of January, 1848.

Waiting for Sophia's return from Kansas. She returned about 12 o'clock. In the evening Captain Waldo called upon us on his return from the fort, and staid all night. He informs [us] that General Scott has been arrested on charges preferred by Generals Worth and Pillow, and a court martial ordered to convene at Vera Cruz.

FEBRUARY, 1848.

Tuesday, 1.—Beautiful morning. Captain Waldo set out on his journey home. Council day. I *must* attend. A letter was read in Council from Major Cummins in relation to the *tri-party treaty*. Nothing satisfactory upon the subject. All equivocal. The Government is determined upon "foul play" upon us poor Wyandotts.

Wednesday, 2.—Went to Kansas and put in the P. O. a Santa Fe newspaper and a map of Mexico and California addressed to John Shrunk, Editor of the "Lower Sandusky Telegraph." Received a letter from Harriet. Settled with S. Armstrong and McCoy and Martin in our house-rent concern, the latter up to the 31st of December, 1847. Amount due up to this date from S. Armstrong \$17.43. Amount due from McCoy and Martin up to December 31st, 1847, \$31.05.

Thursday, 3.—Attended M. R. W.'s raising. Labored hard all day. A windy, cloudy and unpleasant day. Did not finish the raising. Postponed till Saturday next.

Friday, 4.—At daylight commenced snowing. Cold and stormy. About noon it partially cleared up. Hauled wood and some corn out of Henry Jacquis field. In the evening J. M. A. and his two little girls came over to spend the evening. Had a concert.

Saturday, 5.—Cloudy morning.

Sunday, 6.—Hiatus.

Monday, 7.—In Westport.

Tuesday, 8.— *"How beautiful falls
From human lips,
That 'blessed word forgive.'"*

Wednesday, 9.—Came home. T. H. Noble staid all night.

Thursday, 10.—Martha and Dorcas went to Independence intending to stay till Saturday.

Friday, 11.—Employed Mr. Noble to cut and haul some wood. In the evening C. G. came on a visit and staid till bed time. A long and pleasant colloquy.

Saturday, 12.—Devoted my time to burning old logs and dry trees. Spring weather truly. In the evening Adam Brown called and delivered my mail from Kansas with President's Message and accompanying documents. A truly mammoth document!

Martha and Dorcas not returned yet. We are uneasy about them.

Sunday, 13.—Cloudy morning. Read the news and wrote a letter to A. Guthrie,¹ a sort of salmagundi affair, upon all sorts of subjects. Warm day. At 4 o'clock P. M. it commenced raining and rained till 8 o'clock.

Monday, 14.—Cloudy as usual. James White-Wing came as per agreement to work for me. Martha not returned yet. What in the name of Moses can keep her?

Tuesday, 15.—Returned from their journey.

Wednesday, 16.—Went with the girls to Kansas, they being invited to attend Isaac McCoy's "infair."

Thursday, 17.—Remained in waiting the arrival of the Haiden, expecting to find Harriet on board coming home to spend her vacation, but was disappointed.

¹ Mr. Guthrie was kept in Washington most of his time by the Wyandot Nation to look after their affairs. He was in Washington at this time.

Friday, 18.—Waiting the arrival of the Tamerlane. She landed, but still no Harriet.

Saturday, 19.—Hiatus.

Sunday, 20.—Hiatus.

Monday, 21.—Hiatus.

Tuesday, 22.—Celebrated the birthday of the Father of his Country, by having a social select convivial party in Mr Tibb's counting room. Quite a pleasant and agreeable time. Our wit and the chief author of our merriment was a Mr Dyke.

Wednesday, 23.—Done nothing. Read the news.

Thursday, 24.—Clearing up the yard, assisted by John Lynch.

Friday, 25.—Engaged in the same.

Saturday, 26.—Same. Got our mail. Not much news.

Sunday, 27.—Read Fremont's defense.

Monday, 28.—Hauled wood all day. Brought my big wagon home and lent it again to John Van Meter.¹ Somewhat fatigued at night. Mr and Mrs Davis, with C. G. came on a visit and staid all night.

Tuesday, 29.—Attended Council. Made out our appropriation bill for 1848. Tried and convicted Thomas Stand-In-The-Water of burglary and theft. Transacted various minor matters of business. A person named Quinby called, enquiring for a fugitive slave who absconded from his master in Platte City.

MARCH, 1848.

Wednesday, 1.—Resumed our operations in clearing up, and as Major J. Downing says, "Sitting things to rights." Miss Blossom was last night delivered of an heir. A fine calf.

Thursday, 2.—Snowing at a most furious rate. Kept housed up all day. The sky black as a raven's wing, and the air white as the crest of the foaming billow.

¹ The Van Meters were Mohawks; they were adopted Wyandots.

Friday, 3.—At daylight, thermometer 10° below zero. Hauled corn and fodder. Widow Driver was buried to-day.¹

Saturday, 4.—At daylight, thermometer at zero. Matthew Peacock was buried to-day.²

"Insatiate archer, could not one suffice?"

Pleasant in the afternoon, but towards sunset the wind blew from the north and turned very cold. Received a letter from Jesse Stern, Esq., upon land matters. Also some public documents from A. Guthrie. C. Graham staid all night and bespoke boarding for himself and assistant, Orange Wilcox.

Sunday, 5.—Thermometer "0" (zero). Bright and clear. This day I complete my forty-seventy year. Can this be possible? Verily I cannot realize [it]. I can hardly persuade myself that I have already lived so long and ambled upon this bustling stage 47 years; yet such is the fact. The record shows it. I was born in the County of Wayne, Territory (now State) of Michigan on the 5th of March A. D., 1800.³ Methinks it was but last week I was a crazy-headed, reckless, fun-loving and unstudious school boy. How swift is the flight of time.

Monday, 6.—Assisted by John Lynch, I overhauled our spring, which had been failing. Put in a new trough, but Alas! we toiled for naught; we gained but little water.

Tuesday, 7.—Went to town. John Lynch chopped in the woods pasture. Joel set out for N. Y.

¹ The mother of Francis Driver.

² He was buried in Huron Place Cemetery. On the stone above his grave is this:

Matthew Peacock

Died

Oct 1843

Aged 68 Yrs.

The date is wrong. There being no day of the month given indicates that there was uncertainty as to the date by those having the stone put up. It was probably not erected until many years after his death.

³ See biographical sketch of Governor Walker for different dates given for his birth. This is undoubtedly the correct date.

Wednesday, 8.—Overhauled my pork. Lent the Deacon one of my barrels and repacked his pork. Worked on my smoke house and in the garden. Overhauled the roots of my fruit trees. Manured them with spall-stones and compost. Paid John Lynch four dollars.

Thursday, 9.—Clear and beautiful morning. Got up my work cattle, intending to haul out the waste timber out of my Woods pasture; but my Frenchman not coming, did but little in the way of hauling. Summon'd to attend a special session of the Council. Heard of the death of John Quincy Adams.

Friday, 10.—Wrote to J. Stern upon land matters. Bought three bushels of corn meal. Sent for Pharoah for consultation. Came in the evening. Mr. Graham brought our Westport mail.

Saturday, 11.—Beautiful morning. M^{rs} W. went to Kansas to purchase supplies, and brought our mail. A letter from Harriet. Chopped my Sunday's wood. Did various other "chores" about the house. Read my newspapers. To-day the thermometer stood nearly at "*summer heat*." This seems like the commencement of spring. Hannah Hicks came on a visit and drummed on the piano. Considering her opportunities she plays a few tunes very well.

Sunday, 12.—Rained a little last night, and this morning the thermometer stood 2° below freezing point. Prospect of a fine day.

In the evening C. Graham and Orange returned. Read and wrote all day.

Monday, 13.—Cold, frosty morning. Wrote to Harriet to come home with S. Armstrong on his return from St. Louis. Pottered about the house.

Tuesday, 14.—Bright and clear morning. Hauled some wood out of the woods pasture. Went to the Council. Came home and set out some peach trees.

Wednesday, 15.—Frosty morning. Went to town to haul some flour and a sack of salt, but owing to the villainous and balky character of Sam's team, broke the wagon tongue, so we left the wagon in town and came home for dinner, and at the same time to devise other means of getting our load home. I have it. We will take the ox team, Brin and Brown. *Never stall*, so now for the bull team.

Just returned with my flour and salt. No accidents this time. Spent this day to but little purpose.

Thursday, 16.—Beautiful morning. Looks like Indian summer. Called upon the Grammar school. Went to M. Mudeater¹ and engaged ten bushels of potatoes.

¹ The name *Mudeater* is an honored one in the Wyandot Nation. There are different accounts of the manner in which it became fixed as a family name. Alfred J. Mudeater, Esq., of Wyandotte, Indian Territory, gave me substantially the following:

A war party of Wyandots went up the Big Sandy River about the time of the Revolutionary War, for the purpose, as he said, of falling upon the Cherokees, but much more probably for the purpose of raiding the settlements west of New River in Virginia, or along the Watauga in what is now East Tennessee. This party went down a valley after passing the head waters of the Big Sandy River. This valley was inhabited by white settlers who fled at the approach of the Indians, who passed on and went far beyond it. They were gone for about two weeks, when they returned up this same valley to again reach the waters of the Big Sandy, which they would descend on their way home.

As they were marching up this little valley they saw a small boy run down to the creek some distance ahead of them and disappear in the bushes that fringed the stream. Some of the warriors hastened to the point where the boy was last seen but he was nowhere to be found. The other warriors of the party came up and a close and systematic search was instituted for the fugitive. One of them noticed that the creek had cut in under the roots of some trees, leaving a mass of roots and earth overhanging the water. He plunged into the stream and looked under this overhanging mass. He saw a boy's legs at the farthest corner of the cavity thus found, and, seizing him by the feet, drew him forth.

The child, for he was nothing more, being only about six or seven years old, was famished and emaciated. So extreme had been his sufferings from hunger that he had been eating the soapstone found along the bed of the creek. This soapstone and clay were smeared about his mouth and over his face. The Indians, with that aptness for which they are famous in the bestowal of names, called him Mud Eater, a name which he retained ever after.

The warriors gave him food, and carried him with them to their town on the Sandusky. He said that his people had either abandoned him or forgotten him in their hasty flight from the Indians, and he had been left to starve, or to whatever fate might befall him.

The Indians adopted him and he grew up among them and married a Wyandot woman.

The Hon. Frank H. Betton, of Wyandotte county, Kansas, who married Miss

Friday, 17.—“St. Patrick’s day in the morning.” Wrought in my garden digging up stumps, and laying off walks, etc. Sent by Mr. Graham my letter to John Greer, written yesterday. I very civilly gave my opinion of his conduct in regard to my sale of a tract of land to him.

Mr. Mudeater brought the potatoes I contracted for yesterday. Warm day, pleasant evening. Dr. H. (God bless his memory) forgot to bring our mail from the P. O.

Saturday, 18.—Yonder comes the powerful king of day rejoicing in the east. 10 and a half o’clock. Thermometer nearly “summer heat.” Working with my fruit trees, covering their roots with broken stone and compost of leached lime and sand. The little leisure I have I devote to reading the memoirs of Aaron Burr by M. L. Davis. What a man! A strange medley of opposite qualities, great and good in some things and treacherous and heartless in others.

Sunday, 19.—Staid at home, read and wrote. M^r Gil-

Susanah Mudeater, the sister of Alfred J. Mudeater, Esq., who gave me the foregoing account, believes it possible that the name may have been bestowed from the habits of the turtle which burrows in the mud, and which might be said to be a mud eater. This is a plausible and tenable theory, and it is quite possible that it is correct, if the boy was adopted by the Big Turtle Clan, or the Mud Turtle Clan.

He related to me another tradition. A party of Wyandots went to visit another tribe, perhaps the Shawnees, or the Delawares. Arrived at the spring at which the village supply of water was obtained they beheld an emaciated white boy eating clay from its banks. He was a captive and had been adopted and had almost starved. The Wyandots from compassion bought him and adopted him into their tribe, and gave him the name of Mud Eater, from the circumstance which caused his purchase and adoption into the Wyandot Nation.

The improbable part of this version of the matter lies in the assertion that he had been starved after adoption. This could not have been, unless the whole tribe was starving. It was contrary to all Indian customs to withhold food from any one. While one had food all had it.

This man Mud Eater had a son named Russia Mudeater, who married a daughter of Chief Adam Brown. One of their children was Matthew Mudeater. He married Nancy Pipe, a direct descendant of Hopocan, or Captain Pipe, Chief of the Wolf Clan, and afterwards Head Chief of all the Delawares, and who burned Colonel Crawford at the stake in what is now Crawford County, Ohio. Of this marriage were born: 1. Silas, died in infancy; 2. Susanah, born in Ohio, March 5, 1841; 3. Thomas Dawson, born February —, 1843; 4. Zelinda, born in 1845; 5. Mary, born in 1847; 6. Irvin, born in 1849; 7. Benjamin, born in 1851; 8. Infant that died; 9. Alfred J., born in 1855; 10. Matthew, born in 1857; 11. Ida, born in 1859.

Matthew Mudeater died in the Wyandot Reserve in the Indian Territory.

more of Independence came and staid all night. Went to see Isaiah who was seriously hurt by the falling of his horse while going at full speed on Saturday. Badly hurt.

Monday, 20.—Rained last night. Clear this morning. Went to town after writing to M^r Reese concerning the Chick lots in Westport.

Sowed two beds of a mixture of salad and radishes and other work in *de jardin*.

C. Graham received a letter from Esau, written from New Orleans, which I perused. He is on his way to Mexico, wishing like many others to revel in the "halls of Montezuma."

Tuesday, 21.—Cold and cloudy morning. Reading Burr's memoirs. Truly he was an unfortunate man. In the meridian of life his star began to wane and through the bitterness and rancorous hostility with which he was pursued, day and night, he fell from his lofty position like a boulder from the clouds. How true the saying and truly its application in Col. Burr's case is just. A French criminal judge says "Give me four lines in writing of the most honest man in the world, and I will undertake to have him hung."

Continued cold windy and cloudy. Worked in my garden.

Wednesday, 22.—Cold and dark morning. My execrations upon that *sacre menteur coquin* of a Frenchman, Pierre Ballenger, for not coming to work for me as he promised. Continued my gardening operations. Planted early potatoes, but in consequence of my crippled back I was compelled to lay aside my spade, shovel and rake and stop operations. Mild and pleasant this *arternoon*. *Je suis fatigüe au jour d'hui*.

Just heard of the ratification of the treaty of peace between the U. S. and Mexico.

Thursday, 23.—Clear cold and frosty morning. M^{rs} W. gone to Westport. Writing a letter to Esau in Mexico. *Le*

meme tems Je ecrute une o pour Madame Guthrie. Planted some more early potatoes. M^{rs} W. returned from Westport and brought my mail.

Friday, 24.—Hauled some hay. Then hauled some wood from the woods pasture. Planted a Balm of Gilead.¹ Done various other things. M^r Barstow's school closed to-day. Called upon by James Washington on public business. Agreed to meet to-morrow.

Saturday, 25.—Sprinkled a little rain last night. Cloudy and threatening rain. Let it come and welcome. Dispatched my letter addressed to Esau by C. G. to the P. O. Settled with B. F. Barstow for tuition in District No. 3, amount, \$58.33.

Planted a fine lot of top onions. M. R. W. set out to-day for Wolftown in company with M^r Boyd. Requested him to attend to some business for me. Went to town to meet the sub-agent on public business, but [he] was not at home; gone to Fort Leavenworth.

Sunday, 26.—Cold, cold morning. 1° below *freezing point*. Went to see the Widow Mudeater, who is said to be dangerously sick. "Nigh unto death." Some prospect of her recovery yet.

Monday, 27.—Wrote two deeds for the Deacon. Resumed my gardening operations. Worked hard all day with spade and rake in hand. C. G. sick. Did not come home but staid all night at his cheerless and lonely house. Dr. H. received orders to come to St. Louis for the semi-annual annuity.

Tuesday, 28.—Clear and frosty morning. Must attend Council to-day. Business of importance. Just returned from Council. Transacted a variety of business. Appointed a National Council for this day a week at the school house in town, to meet the *disorganizers*. To-day at 12

¹ Formerly a favorite tree to plant about the house for shade and ornament.

o'clock the widow Mudeater departed this life, a worthy and good woman gathered to her fathers.

Wednesday, 29.—Clear and frosty morning. 4° below “freezing.” Attended the funeral of the widow Mudeater. M^{rs} W. went to Kansas and returned. Wrote to Andrew McElvain in reply to his letter of the 10th inst., upon the subject of his wishing, or rather application for [the] Wyandott agency.

Thursday, 30.—Blustery, windy, and such a whirling of dust, leaves, and trash! Whew!

Cloudy, prospect of rain. Oh! Boreas send us a refreshing shower! Dry, dry. Watered our fruit trees, for truly they are suffering. *Planted a sugar sprout* in the yard. Dr. Hewitt set out for St. Louis. At 5 o'clock, planted some May peas and some beets. In the evening the sky became cloudy with very strong indications of rain. At nightfall it commenced raining and rained till midnight.

Friday, 31.—Cold morning. Thermometer, freezing point. Repaired my meadow fence. Packed rails on my shoulder. Wrote a long letter to Tho. A. Grun. Winding up the day by burning up logs in my field. Continued cold all day. Probably frost to-night. Planted two more sugar sprouts.

APRIL, 1848.

All fool's day. Cold frosty morning. I fear for the fruit. Quarterly meeting commenced to-day. The presiding elder Mr. Stateler on the ground. Hauled some wood. Hauled rails and went to town. Came home and positively determined to work no more to-day, lest I should be made [a] “fool” of before the day closes. Bring on my mail! The mail came and all I got was two Independence papers. The treaty with Mexico confirmed by the Senate. 37 Ayes and 15 Nays! Revolution in France. Abdication of Louis Phillip and departure from Paris. The chamber of depu-

ties refuse to settle the crown upon any of the royal family, all in a *hub bub*. France must undergo another depletion.

Commenced a letter to the Arch Bishop of the Ohio State Prison, J. B. F.¹

Sunday, 2.—Went to church. Heard a sermon from Rev. M^r Stateler.

Monday, 3.—Orange D. Wilcox left for Independence. M^r Stateler called upon us and spent the morning. Chunked up my log heap. Finished my letter to the Arch Bishop. Prospect of a rainy day.

Must attend a special session of the chiefs to-day at 1 o'clock P. M. to prepare for the convocation of the nation to-morrow.

Tuesday, 4.—Cold morning. Employed T. H. Noble to clear an addition to my field.

Attended the grand convocation of the nation at the school house. A warm discussion took place upon our national politics. Came home at 5 o'clock.

Wednesday, 5.—Frost. Planted our garden peas. Made a summer house of my wild rose.

Thursday, 6.—Cold morning. *Santissimus virgo ora pronobis!* Hired James Jackson to work for M^r C. G. and myself jointly. Went to town, bought 102 pounds of bacon from C. G., and brought my seed oats home. Ira Hunter commenced work in the shop. Hauled rails and fenced in the orchard. *Je suis fatigue au jour d'hui comme un cheval.*

Friday, 7.—Frosty morning as usual. *Le meme chase.* Sowed my orchard with oats. Looking every moment for Harriet.

¹ James B. Finley, the Methodist Missionary to the Wyandots; he founded the Mission at Upper Sandusky, Ohio. He was adopted into the Wyandot Nation by the Bear Clan and named Beh'-wah-wih'-ih, meaning "he has hold of the Law." He was given a nickname, Hah-gyeh'-reh-wah'-neh, meaning "big neck." He wrote the "History of the Wyandot Mission" and "Western Methodism." His History of the Wyandot Mission was afterwards published almost entire as "Life Among the Indians."

She came about two o'clock, having come in a carriage with S. Armstrong and H. M. Northrup.

Planted some more onions. Sowed parsnips and beets, also cabbage seeds. My hand, Jimmie Jackson, getting sick of work and wants to quit and go home. So he may go. Cloudy night, looks like rain, send it, do, oh do!

Saturday, 8.—No rain, but cloudy. No frost. M^{rs} W. went to Kansas, but brought no mail. Set out the shrubbery brought by Harriet from Lexington, viz: a variety of roses, honeysuckle, and flowering almond. Sowed some timothy and clover. Planted some watermelons. Blocking out a memorial to the general conference about to convene at Pittsburg praying that body to refund the proceeds of the Mission farm in Ohio, to be applied, if refunded, to finishing the new Church.

Sunday, 9.—No rain; ground dry and parched. C. G. and myself went to the Holy Catholic Church near Kansas, and heard a sermon from Father Donnelly, an Irish priest; was introduced to him; a quite pleasant and agreeable man. Got home at 1 o'clock P. M. Received a letter from John Wheeler. Answered it forthwith; a sort of a salmagundi communication. Several of our neighbors called upon us this evening.

Monday, 10.—Cloudy; some signs of rain. Oh let refreshing showers descend upon the parched earth. Cloudy and cold all day, but no rain. M^r T. H. Noble making rails, and I doing a little of everything.

Tuesday, 11.—Cold; thermometer "freezing" point! Clear and all hopes of our rain dissipated. Sad disappointment! Steamboat making a *rambunctious noise* upon the river. Beautiful and enchanting morning. Of all the green groves of the wide spreading forest, there are none so fair or so charming as where the beautiful Kansas doth glide.

'Tis the home of content,
 'Tis the wild Indian's home,
 In his rude pitched tent
 Is his time honor'd throne.
 See him reclining beneath his shade tree,
 His eye wandering through the dark green wood,
 He thinks of his foe, the lurking Pawnee,
 Vows vengeance upon him by Keesis his God.

12 o'clock. Just finished extirpating all the stool grubs out of my orchard. Watered my shubbery in the garden.

Wednesday, 12.—Awoke at the dawn of day, but alas! no rain! dry, dry. Wrote Joseph Ridgeway upon the subject of the Burlingame claim. 11 o'clock, "summer heat" weather, well calculated to give the lazy and indolent the *spring fever*. Made a hot bed for sweet potatoes. Mr. Noble commenced relaying the fence.

Thursday, 13.—Cloudy, but no rain yet. Dry, dry, everything parched up, yet 'tis a beautiful day.

"The spring is coming, delightful spring,
 When the bright waves dance and the sweet birds sing,
 Ten thousand notes from the forest trees,
 Are wafted along in the gentle breeze,
 And glittering insects here and there
 Are humming their notes in the soft spring air."

I am tired, I will quit work for to-day.

Friday, 14.—Severe hoar frost. I fear for the fruit. Received a letter from J. W. Garrett dated March 28, in reply to mine of the 28th of November. Further news from the French revolution. Mob reigns in Paris. It is utter nonsense for France to talk about a republican government. Nothing short of the *iron rule* of a Bonaparte will keep the French quiet and in subjection. They cannot appreciate a wholesome government. To-day Thom. H. Noble finished his job of clearing and fencing. Sold him my small wagon at \$40.00 in work, trade, etc. Cold and cloudy. Wind from the north. Answered J. W. Garrett's letter.

Saturday, 15.—Severe morning, heavy frost, cold, cold.

Went out to hunt for my oxen. Hunted till one half past 11, but could find nothing of them. The rascals knew there was work on hand, and have concealed themselves. M^{rs} W. and Harriet gone to Kansas. Everything in the vegetable line drying and wilting up. No prospect of rain. Looking for further news of the French revolution. Anxious to know what it will end in, what will be the finale of this uproar. Received the "Nat. Int." and Ohio "State Journal" but no news of importance. Received two letters from George Dickson of Wolftown. My curse upon those Wolverines who set the prairies on fire and burnt a part of my fence.

Sunday, 16.—Frost again! Oh when are we to have warm weather? Missouri rising. Went to Church.

Monday, 17.—No frost this morning (please fortune) but warm and pleasant. Went in pursuit of my work cattle. Found them. Commenced plowing my old ground. Missouri booming up, rising, rising. Where does this water come from? Cloudy; prospect of rain. Send down the refreshing showers. At one half past 7 P. M. commenced raining.

Tuesday, 18.—Stormy night. Froze. Cold. Wind from the north. Everything vegetable frozen stiff. The Council meets to-day, and I must lay my implements of husbandry aside, and attend to affairs of state. Proceeded to town. Convened the Council. Signed a memorial to the general conference praying that Rev. Body restore to the Wyandott Church the proceeds of the Wyandott Mission farm in Ohio, to aid in building our Church. Disposed of a multiplicity of business, and adjourned sine die. Came home and found Dr. L. Twyman¹ at our house. He staid all night.

Wednesday, 19.—Frosty morning. 3° below "freezing." Hauled in from the clearing the fire wood. Commenced

¹ Of Independence, Mo.

breaking up my new ground. Failing to get a hired hand, I resolved to do it myself. Got M^r Peery's black boy Elijah to drive, and I held the plough, and a mammoth one at that; plowed till sunset. Tired enough.

Thursday, 20.—Resumed the plough and finished at 2 o'clock P. M. Went to M. R. W.'s for a load of corn. Weary as a hound after a long fox chase. Beautiful evening, but rather cool and chilly.

Friday, 21.—Beautiful morning, no frost, glad of it. Harrowing my field preparatory to planting corn. Fine day for work. Moderately cool. Planted some beans, cucumbers, and beets. Elijah furrowing out the corn ground. Weather getting warm. Thermometer 85°.

Saturday, 22.—Ready to plant my corn. Dry weather. Repaired some fence. 12 o'clock. This being Saturday, I have after mature consideration, come to the conclusion I would work no more to-day. For verily the *outward man* begins to feel the effects of earning my bread "by the sweat of my brow." Blistered hands and crippled back, aching bones and a sunburned face. Ah me! Martha and Sophia gone to Kansas on a visit. Got no mail. Snakes and Scorpions! This is too bad. Miss Lucy Jane returned home.

Sunday, 23.—Cool morning, but no frost. Dry, dry weather. Went to Church; heard a sermon from the Deacon. This evening it is reported the Doctor has returned home, bringing with him the semi-annuity.

Monday, 24.—Phœbus! but it is cold! Cloudy, looks like a snow storm was approaching. And yet I am ready to plant corn; but here I am, roasting my corporeality before a blazing fire. Plant corn indeed. No I will wait till summer. From the National Intelligencer it appears that Senator Atchison has reported a bill confirming the land purchased by the Wyandotts from the Delawares.¹ Went

¹ This bill was passed and became a law.

to town. Called upon Dr. H. Had a conversation upon the approaching payment. Council to convene to-morrow. Cold all day. Cloudy, dark and lowering. Occasionally a few drops of snow falling. In the evening commenced planting corn.

Tuesday, 25.—As usual cold and dreary. *Commenced operations upon my pigs.* Planted more corn. At last the sun has made its appearance. Attended Council. Appointed next Monday for the payment of the semi-annuity.

Wednesday, 26.—Cloudy, dark and uninviting. Planted more corn. Harriet set out for Lexington. [She has] gone back to school again. Sent some shrubbery to the seminary. Sent the memorial to general conference to the care of Rev. J. B. Finley to be presented by him.

Thursday, 27.—Fine morning. Sent my oxen to Guthrie's to plow his field, by M^r Hightower. Continued planting corn. Council met and proceeded to make out the pay-roll for payment of the semi-annuity and finished [it]. Adjourned till Monday. Joel Walker returned from New York. Strong signs of rain.

Friday, 28.—Raining; welcome, welcome, a hearty welcome to these refreshing showers. Finished planting corn in the evening.

Saturday, 29.—Went to Kansas. Got no news by mail. Came home at 1 o'clock. After dark three weary travelers from Fort Leavenworth, having got lost, called for lodgings, which we afforded them. They were a M^r Childs, a Doctor from Dover and an Indian trader.

Sunday, 30.—Our guests left after breakfast. Cloudy; staid at home. Wrote to A. Trager; J. Walker called.

MAY, 1848.

Monday, 1.—May-day, and such a day! Cloudy, dark, and cold, threatening rain. The rain would truly be accept-

able, but weather so cold should give way to the more genial warmth of summer. The semi-annual payment commenced to-day. Paid out two boxes, \$2,000. At 8 o'clock at night it rained for a half or three-fourths of an hour, and stopped.

Tuesday, 2.—Beautiful morning! Everything glittering like silver spangles in the sun. Last evening's shower has caused nature to put on her most pleasing smiles. Resumed the annuity payment and closed in the evening. Adjourned to meet on Thursday.

Wednesday, 3.—Clear and warm morning. Planted some Indian corn, watermelons and cucumbers. Settled with Mr Goodyear for lumber got for the use of the ferry by the Council, \$27.50. Thermometer 86°. Cloudy all day. In the evening strong threats of rain. At 8 o'clock rain set in accompanied with a hard wind. Occasional showers through the night.

Thursday, 4.—Bright and clear. Windy. Blowing a continual gale. This day two years ago war broke out between the U. S. and Mexico and the finale "is not yet." Council met and proceeded to pay off the public liabilities. Paid our own noble selves, and our clerks, sheriffs, and ferryman. Transacted a variety of business and adjourned till Tuesday next. Mr W. went to Kansas and returned.

Friday, 5.—This day 21 years ago Napoleon Bonaparte breathed his last in the Isle of St. Helena. Went to Kansas and paid off B. F. Barstow, schoolmaster. Came home at 3 o'clock P. M. Found one of my young sows with six young pigs.

Saturday, 6.—Cool, but beautiful morning. Heavy dew. Growing time. Have a severe nervous headache. Staid in the house all day. Wrote a letter to Harriet. Got no mail. I am in want of news in these exciting times when Europe is all in convulsions and spasms. Thrones crumbling and falling. Kings abdicating and becoming suppliants to their

subjects, some ingloriously retreating from their excited and infuriated subjects and seeking asylums in foreign countries.

Sunday, 7.—M^r Hightower brought my oxen back having finished ploughing Esau's field. Went to Church. A Tuscarora preached.

Monday, 8.—Went into the upper settlement. Saw John Cotter, who had been assaulted by Milton Karraho and John Williams, and severely beat. Got the particulars of the scrape. Came home. In the evening M^r G. brought our mail. Ira Hunter moved to-day.

Tuesday, 9.—Cold and cloudy. Went to Council. Tried a case. Widow Charloe vs. Estate of H. Jacquis; claim of plaintiff rejected. At 2 o'clock P. M. a cold rain set in. Adjourned, 4 o'clock. Came home.

Wednesday, 10.—Rose at daylight, and Phoebus! what a frost. Sophia commenced her school to-day in the basement story of the Church. In the afternoon a stranger called upon us who proved to be an American German from Philadelphia, a professor of music, a pianist. Tuned our piano. Gave the girls a few lessons on music. Staid all night, and in the morning "put out."

Thursday, 11.—Cold morning but no frost. Our German set out for the fort. Chilly and cold all day.

Friday, 12.—Some frost. Fine day. Staid at home, did small work about the house. Wrote to H. Barrett. Warm and pleasant day.

Saturday, 13.—Clear and beautiful morning. Went to Kansas in company with M. R. Walker, Joel Walker, Dr. Hewitt, C. Graham. Staid till the mail came in. Received a letter from H. Barrett. J. Walker opening a large stock of goods in Kansas. Came home in the evening, 8 o'clock at night. Beautiful moonlight night! "Oh, 'tis my delight of a shiny night, to ramble o'er the grassy lea."

Sunday, 14.—Fine morning. Went to church. M. R.

Walker and Adam Hunt set out for the Pottawatomie payment. Sometime after midnight it rained a heavy shower. What could have come more opportunely? 9 o'clock, showery. All nature seems to have put on her best array, her "best bib and tucker." How beautiful is the forest! M. R. W. and Adam Hunt did not go further than Westport, learning [there] that the payment did not take place till next week.

Monday, 15.—2 o'clock in the afternoon, another rain and [it] continued till night.

Tuesday, 16.—Clear and beautiful morning. I must attend the Council to-day. An assault and battery case must be tried. John Cotter vs. Milton Karahoo and John Williams. The parties not appearing, the case was postponed. Declared Smith Nichols of age and released him from his guardian.

Wednesday, 17.—Wrote to Miss Jane R. Long and inclosed \$40.00 in Missouri paper, viz.: one twenty dollar bill and two tens, to go by to-morrow's mail. Gave a turkey roast to our neighbors. Dined at half past three. Had a pleasant party.

Thursday, 18.—Dark, foggy morning. Prospects of rain to-day. Staid about home all day, not feeling very well. Worked some in my garden. Shut up Barnabas Barebones to fatten for a particular occasion, for a select dinner party.

Friday, 19.—A small shower at 9 o'clock A. M. Mr Noble called, chatted awhile. Engaged him to do some more work. Worked in my garden.

Saturday, 20.—Warm morning. Mr Hunter called and brought a letter from Jesse Stern which informs me that he has had an offer of ten dollars an acre for the whole tract.

Sunday, 21.—Staid at home all day. Warm day. Dr. Hewitt called to see Dorcas. Bled her. In the evening C. Graham called.

Monday, 22.—Daylight, raining furiously. Rained till one o'clock and held up. Set out some sweet potatoes, [and] some cabbages. About 9 o'clock at night it resumed raining most furiously, and stopped about 10 or 11 [o'clock].

Tuesday, 23.—Answered J. Stern's letter. Sophia unable to get to school owing to high water. Got her "dander up" and returned determined to cross the *Jarsey* at all hazards. Deacon gone to Kansas. Showery. Set out some more cabbage.

Wednesday, 24.—Rain, rain, the rainy season set in. Sticking peas to-day. Dull times, no company.

Thursday, 25.—Dreary, cold, and cloudy morning. If it does not rain I shall go to Kansas to mail some letters and get some if any come, and learn the news. Returned from K. Our mail was a complete "water-haul." Nothing for our place. John Garrett from Ohio landed last evening. Warm and sultry. Look out for more rain.

Friday, 26.—Clear and beautiful morning, but oh 'twill be a warm day. Wrote a communication to J. Shrunk for publication. John and C. B. Garrett came over and spent the evening.

Saturday, 27.—M^{rs} W. went to Kansas. Received a letter from M^{rs} Nancy Garrett. Warm and sultry day. Pruned my trees.

Sunday, 28.—Cloudy. Warm. M. R. W. returned from Pottawattomie last evening. In the afternoon a violent rain set in which lasted two hours. Curly Head and John Solomon called and staid for dinner. M^r G. from Independence staid all night.

Monday, 29.—Clear and fine, though cool. At 10 o'clock went to Kansas. Got my mail. Received a letter from J. Ridgeway, jr. Jesse Stern and his father arrived at Joel's. Dined with them. George Dickson from Wolfstown arrived. Set out some more sweet potatoes.

Tuesday, 30.—Prepared for the session of the Council. John Cotter vs. Milton Kayraahoo, postponed. Adjourned to two weeks from to-day.

Wednesday, 31.—Mr. Stern called upon us, and staid till evening. Went to J. M. A.'s.

JUNE, 1848.

Thursday, 1.—Went to Kansas. Bought two bushels of corn meal, one-half ream of letter paper, and some rat poison. Sent another communication to the telegraph.

Friday, 2.—Cloudy morning. Prospect of rain. Weeded my garden. Went for a bag of corn. M^r Noble ploughing my corn. It looks fine and thrifty. Sent Dorcas to Kansas. In the evening a heavy rain fell.

Saturday, 3.—Clear, cool and pleasant morning. *Caught a tartar!* Stept into the garden and found that that most troublesome of all "warmints" had been ploughing up my beds again, and thanks to my *lucky stars* I caught M^r ground-mole upheaving the earth. By the dextrous use of the hoe I brought the digger out of his tunnel. M^{rs} W. took him in her hand and held him till he died for the purpose of testing the truth of the saying that it will cure the rheumatism. She held him about an hour before he died. Set out fifty cabbage plants. Went to Kansas in company with Jesse Stern. Called at the P. O., got my papers and a letter from John T. Walker. J. Stern returned home on board the steamer "Kansas." I came home. In the evening rained furiously.

Sunday, 4.—Clear and beautiful morning. M^{rs} W. and Sophia went to Kansas to Church. I staid "te hum." Warm day. M^{rs} W. and Sophia state that on their return from K. they found at the ferry a dozen or more people waiting to cross, and among them was John Charloe, very drunk, and had been severely beat. His face appeared to

be very much bruised and mangled up. Perhaps his upper jaw broke.

Monday, 5.—Moses Peacock commenced working in our corn. M^r Noble commenced staking and ridering the fence. Hauled the stakes and riders. Finished the f——bah! mistake.

Tuesday, 6.—M^r Noble finished the fence. Now I will bid defiance to *breachy* stock. If they should break through this fence, they then ought to be killed. Finished planting our sweet potatoes.

Wednesday, 7.—Clear and fine weather, cool and pleasant. Finished another No. for the Telegraph. Moses finished dressing out my corn field. "*Old White*" commenced the process of incubation of thirteen eggs. So we may have one and one-twelfth dozen of chicks if old white has good luck.

Thursday, 8.—Rainy day. Went to Kansas. Got a soaking. Called at the P. O. No newspapers. No news. "It's a botheration." Hunted for my dog *Carlo*. Some rascally dog thief has decoyed him off. I shall deplore my loss if I never get him again. Came home at 5 o'clock P. M. Rained again. C'est egal.

Friday, 9.—Pleasant day. Staid at home, mowing in my fence corners.

Saturday, 10.—Went to K. on a mule. Called at P. O. No letters. Came home. Read my newspapers. Nothing special from Europe.

Sunday, 11.—Charming morning. Clear and bright. A very heavy dew. Went to church in the evening. Messrs. Tebbs and Donahoe called upon us and staid an hour.

Monday, 12.—Warm day. J. Walker afflicted with sore eyes. In the afternoon an unexpected visitor called upon us in the person of John S. Young of Perry county, Ohio, he being an old acquaintance of M^{rs} W., the latter was de-

lighted to see him, not having seen him for upwards of twenty years.

Tuesday, 13.—Council day. No business of importance. M^r Peery and M^r Young called in, and the latter introduced to the Council. Adjourned. M^r Peery gave a party for M^r Y. Spent an agreeable evening.

Wednesday, 14.—Presented M^r Y. “Gregg’s Commerce of the Prairies.” Set out this morning in company with M^r Peery for the “Shawnee Institution.” From thence home. Called upon J. Walker. Found him considerably improved.

Thursday, 15.—Wrote another communication for the Telegraph. Went to Kansas. Called at the P. O., but as usual “Nothing for you.”

The Whig national convention have nominated Gen. Taylor for President and Millard Filmore for Vice President. *So the Whigs are doomed to another defeat.*

Friday, 16.—Planted my fall potatoes, being the old of the moon. Warm day. M^r George Dickson called. Went to the church to help Lynch put up steps in the basement. Martha taught Sophia’s school, she being sick to-day.

Saturday, 17.—Went to Kansas to sign with my brothers and others interested a power of attorney for Jesse Stern to dispose of our Seneca county lands; “signed sealed and delivered” in the presence of Lot Coffman, J. P.

Paid the proprietors of Kansas for two lots in the new addition, \$59.00 and got my deed. Received two letters from Esau, written from the “Halls of the Montezumas.” Came home late in the evening.

Sunday, 18.—Quarterly meeting. Present L. B. Stateler, presiding elder, Thomas Johnson, E. T. Peery. I must go to Church, *as a good orderly Christian man should do.* In the “arternoon” a heavy shower of rain came up, which lasted two hours. M^r and M^{rs} Northrup, M^r Stateler, and

E. T. P. dined with us to-day. The clergy put out for Church.

Monday, 19.—Clear morning. Our *dejeuner a la fourchette* was the last of Barnabas Barebones. M^{rs} W. went to Kansas. Received a letter from John Goodin inclosing one from Greer. The latter must be an infamous scoundrel.

Tuesday, 20.—Council in session. Had a variety of business. Some matters were postponed. Read a letter to the Council from Dr. Frost upon the subject of intemperance among the Wyandotts. Appointed a committee to investigate the causes of the drowning of a Muncie woman at Kansas. Fined that prince of all loafers, Thos. Standinwater, \$500.

Wednesday, 21.—Went to town. J. Walker making preparations to leave for the east. Waiting for a boat. Wrote to M. H. Kirby on business and also to John Goodin and L. Smalley.

Thursday, 22.—Went to Kansas. On my way and passing by Joel's house I found they had not gone East yet. The steamboat "Cora" not having come down yet. Got no news. Dined with M^r Smart. M^r Moses arraigned for an assault and battery on his brother Shoemaker, James Wilson.

* This afternoon an awful storm came up and lasted about two hours.

Friday, 23.—Cool and pleasant, but alas! My corn is flattened by yesterday's storm. My oats considerably damaged by the storm.

Saturday, 24.—Went to Kansas to settle a matter pending between Henry Sager, John Sarrahes and William S. Chick, Adm. of estate of W. M. Chick postponed. Got no mail, no news.

Sunday, 25.—Charles G.—— and I at an early hour crossed the Kansas river and called at the residence of Rev. James Porter; pressed him into service, and we galloped over the

prairies about five hours, and arrived at the house of M^{rs} Mary Bartleson, a widow, where we found a large company of people assembled. Whereupon we in our wisdom, caused the aforesaid C. G. and M^{rs} M. B. to be united "in the holy state of matrimony." Thence returned in company with a M^r Abston and family and staid all night with them.

Monday, 26.—After breakfast we set [out] for home. I reached home about 2 o'clock P. M. and found our folks, with the invited guests, waiting for the bride and groom, and dinner waiting. But we sat down and did ample justice to what was before us without them. Rain rain.

Tuesday, 27.—Dark and dreary morning. More rain. Cleared off at ten o'clock. Wrote to Harriet to be sent by Thursday's mail. Put in a Q——t. Now I must husband my stock of patience.

Wednesday, 28.—Broke my ax handle. Joel Walker and family set out from Kansas for [the] East. J. S. Co. met at the school house and adjourned to meet again some time hence.

Thursday, 29.—Went to K. Got my news. Came home in the evening.

Friday, 30.—Nothing worthy of note. M^{rs} W. went to K. Sent by a Mr. McLean a dress and a letter to Harriet. At 2 o'clock P. M. the thermometer stood at 96° in the shade.

JULY, 1848.

Saturday, 1.—Went to K. Paid my postage bill. Received a joint letter from Harriet and Miss Jane R. Long. M. R. W., his family, and M^{rs} Maria Garrett went to Sibley. Returned in the evening. At night it commenced raining, and rained all night most furiously.

Sunday, 2.—Clear and beautiful morning. The Deacon being absent, consequently no sermon. I staid at home, reading Stone's Life of Thayendenagea or Joseph Brant.

Isaiah called and dined with us. Heard of the death of a man named Irvin in Kansas by a night's debauch which took place last night during the storm.

Monday, 3.—Staid at home and pottered about, doing all sorts of things such as cutting down weeds, repairing fences. M^r Noble called; chatted awhile. Uncle Joseph R. called and did the same. Heard of the death of J. W. Gray Eyes's wife in the evening. C. G. called and staid till night.

Tuesday, 4.—“Independence Day.” Mexico free. “Glory enough for one day!” Council meets to-day.

Wednesday, 5.—Made a hog-pen. C. G. and lady visited us to-day. Thermometer 95°.

Thursday, 6.—Went to K. While there heard of the illness of W. M. Big-River. (hiatus) Found him dead.

Friday, 7.—He was buried.

Saturday, 15.—The nation met at the school house to make the national nominations as follows: Against James Washington, F. A. Hicks. Against Tauroomee, M. Mudeater; against Geo. Armstrong, J. D. Brown; against W. Walker, J. Rankin; against G. I. Clark, J. W. Grayeyes.¹

¹ John W. Gray-Eyes was the son of Squire Gray-Eyes, who was the son of Doctor “Greyeyes,” who was the son of a British Army officer that married a Wyandot girl at Detroit during the War of the Revolution. Doctor Greyeyes is buried in Huron Place Cemetery. In my search there for information concerning the Wyandots I dug into a sunken grave, and about three inches below the surface found the fragment of a broken headstone upon which is the following:

Doctor Greyeyes

Died

Aug 1845

Aged 50 Yrs.

According to this he was born in 1795. Squire Gray-Eyes was a Methodist preacher and was one of Finley's best men in the Methodist Mission at Upper Sandusky. He had several children. He sent his son John W. to school at the Mission, and afterward to Kenyon College at Gambier, Ohio, where he graduated with high honors. Hon. John S. Stockton, of Kansas City, Kansas, was present on the occasion of his graduation and says that the address he delivered was of a high order and well spoken.

John W. Gray-Eyes studied law and was for a time successful in its practice, but he ruined a promising future by the excessive use of strong drink. When Tauroomee died he became Head Chief by inheritance pursuant to a rule adopted by the Wyandots when they resumed their tribal relations. During the last five years of his life he did not taste liquor. He died in the Indian Territory some six years ago. He belonged to the Little Turtle clan and his name was Heh'n'-toh, the meaning of which is lost.

Sunday, 16.—Staid at home. Had company, W. G.

Monday, 17.—John Nofat and S. Rankin commenced harvesting my oats. Interrupted by being called away.

Tuesday, 18.—Staid at home and pottered about.

Wednesday, 19.—Finished harvesting the oats.

Thursday, 20.—Excessively warm. Thermometer 96°. In the evening a very severe storm came on from the north. Rain and hail in an *horrible tempest*, which lasted till night. After 9 o'clock it commenced raining again and continued till midnight.

Friday, 21.—Went to town. C. G. gone to his farm. Came home. A M^r Smith and M^r Givens of Lexington called and spent the afternoon.

Saturday, 22.—M^{rs} W. went to K. and got our papers, also a letter from M^{rs} McE. of Upper Sandusky.

Sunday, 23.—Both staid at home, it looking too much like rain. Neither of us enjoying the best [of] health, deemed it most prudent not to expose ourselves. Cloudy evening; prospect of rain. Sunset, no rain.

Monday, 24.—Fine morning; went to town. Got a sack of corn, but no news. Sultry but still no rain. One half past two P. M., thermometer 100°! Warm truly. At 4 o'clock P. M. Harriet reached home from Lexington.

Tuesday, 25.—Wrote a friendly epistle to H. Barrett. Finished hoeing my potatoes. My spring run dry, the water having undermined the trough. Must give it an overhauling to-morrow. To be without water, "sweet, cold water" this warm weather! The thought is insufferable. No, no. 'Twon't do. Sowed my turnip seed.

Wednesday, 26.—Cloudy morning. Showers of rain. Went to town and employed John Lynch to assist in repairing the spring. Assisted by M^r Peery, after three or four hours' work we succeeded in confining the water in the spout, and set it to running. Now we have water.

Thursday, 27.—M^{rs} W. went to K. and I mowed my yard and meadow. Got some newspapers. Another bloody insurrection in France which lasted from Friday, 23d of June, till Tuesday the 27th. The insurrection was put down with a loss of from twelve to fifteen thousand killed and wounded on both sides. Ill-fated France! When will you enjoy peace and tranquility? Never will you be content till brought under the scepter of some powerful despot. Answered Hugh Barrett's letter.

Friday, 28.—Cloudy and raining occasionally. Staid at home all day. Did little or nothing.

Saturday, 29.—M^{rs} W. went to K. to sign a Power of Attorney. Hauled in my oats. Received some newspapers. The French insurrection completely subdued. Gen. Cavaignac, the hero of the National Guards will most probably be the President of the *Nouvelle Republique*.

Sunday, 30.—Staid at home and read all day. Though somewhat cloudy, still a pleasant day.

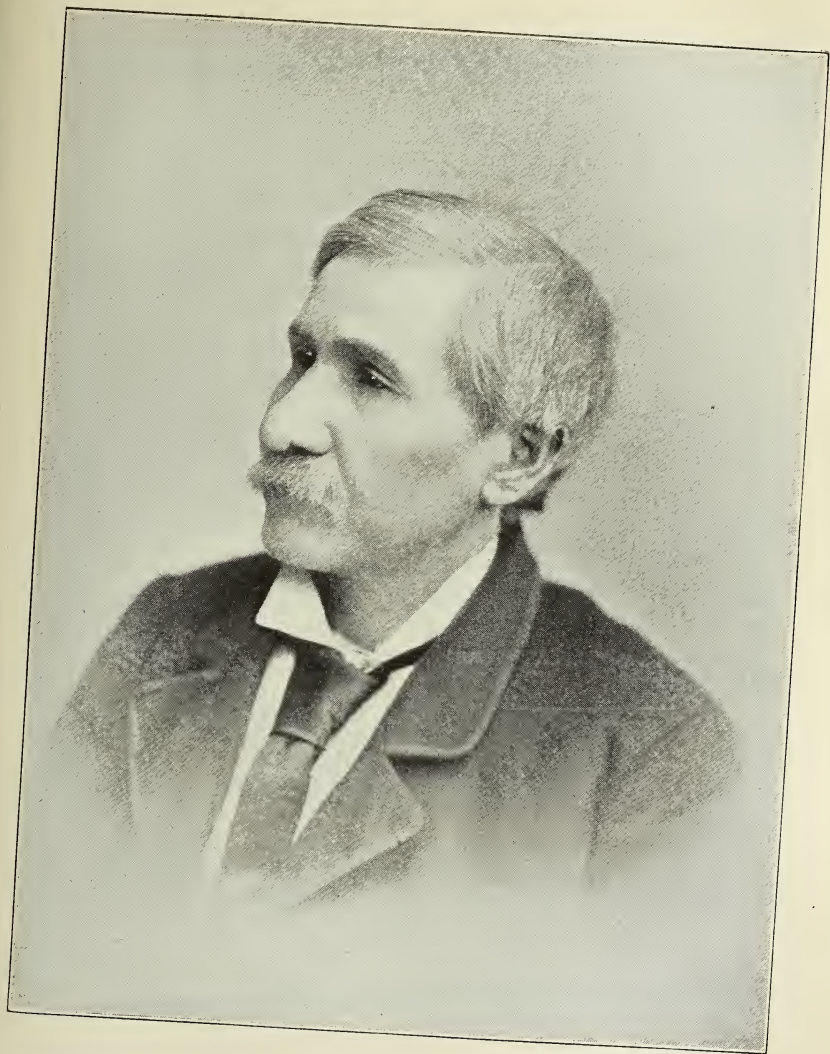
Monday, 31.—Went to town. Called at the Doctor's, who was not at home. Called at the blacksmith shop. Came home. Pottered about the house. Fine weather.

AUGUST, 1848.

Tuesday, 1.—M^{rs} W., M^{rs} Peery, and M^{rs} Graham went to Independence. I went and attended Council. Deceed to sell the National Arms. I bought one, \$8.00. Came home at 5 o'clock. M^{rs} W. and company returned after dark, accompanied by M^{rs} Gilmore.

Wednesday, 2.—At dawn of day, raining furiously. At 4 o'clock P. M., pouring down in torrents, having rained all day. Cleared off in the evening. While some of S. Armstrong's hands were swimming in the Kansas River one of them was drowned.

Thursday, 3.—Clear, cool, and pleasant day. Staid at



JOHN W. GRAY-EYES.

home. Mowed in my woods pasture. Having fatigued myself, rested myself the remaining part of the day by reading.

Friday, 4.—The girls went to take their music lessons. Got no mail. Sent the Power of Attorney to Col. Goodin.

Saturday, 5.—Went to town. Came home and resumed mowing my woods pasture. Folks going to the Delaware camp meeting. We spent the evening at C. B. G's.

Sunday, 6.—Harriet and Sophia went to the camp meeting. Wrote a long letter to Major Harvey upon the subject of our difficulties of "N. and S." The girls returned at sunset.

Monday, 7.—Staid at home and worked at my pasture. The Deacon returned from camp meeting.

Tuesday, 8.—Attended the Council. Transacted a variety of business, making the necessary arrangements for the election and barbecue.

Wednesday, 9.—Mowed in my pasture. M^{rs} W. and Harriet went to K. Joel Walker and our Mexican warriors landed off the Wyandott steamer. "Sweet Lucy Pinks" got a young 'un. 'Ah ha, a hae.

Thursday, 10.—Warm, warm and sultry. Hauled some wood.

Friday, 11.—Warm and sultry.

Miss Jane R. Long, Miss Blackwell, and Miss Lykins here on a visit. Returned this morning. A small sprinkle of rain.

Saturday, 12.—Went to town to clear off the ground for the *barbecue*.

Sunday, 13.—Clear and beautiful morning. Intended to go to Church, but having a headache gave it up. 2 o'clock P. M., Thermometer 100°.

Monday, 14.—Worked all day in my pasture. In the evening Rev. M^r Johnston¹ and family came over to attend the Green Corn Feast.

¹ Rev. Thomas Johnson, of the Shawnee Mission.

Tuesday, 15.—The glorious feast—the election in the midst of a most furious rain, which continued all day; unfavorable as the day was a large number of white people attended, both ladies and gentlemen, and enjoyed the feast in real gusto. The following persons compose the present Council, as decided by the annual election:

Francis A. Hicks, *Principal Chief*.

John D. Brown.

Matthew Mudeater.

James Rankin.

George I. Clark.

} Councilors.

Wednesday, 16.—John Nofat came to chop cord-wood. I mowed in my pasture. Cloudy day.

Thursday, 17.—Killed a shoat for table use. David Young called. We had a long chat on politics.

Friday, 18.—Cloudy morning. The sun has not been seen for a week. Dr. Hewitt captured a ventriloquist last night just as he was commencing his performance at J. W. Gray Eyes' house. He was, however, released and sent out of the Territory.

Saturday, 19.—Mowed in my pasture. In the evening Martha returned in company with M^r Charles Pore, M^r G. being sick. Harriet brought our mail, but no interesting news.

Sunday, 20.—Warm and sultry day. In the afternoon several gentlemen called upon us, two from N. Y. At night we had a heavy rain, accompanied with uproarish thunder, and lightning.

Monday, 21.—Worked about the place all day, cutting down weeds in my fence corners. John Nofat chopping cord-wood.

Tuesday, 22.—M^{rs} W. and Harriet went to K. Prospect of a warm day.

The Presidential race is all the talk now. Taylor and

Cass. "Go it ye cripples!" Mr Van Buren of the barn-burning party seems to be gaining strength among the abolitionists. Free territory men; among the latter are some prominent Whigs.

ELECTORAL VOTES.

Maine.....	9	Alabama.....	9
New Hampshire....	6	Mississippi.....	6
Vermont	6	Ohio.....	23
Massachusetts	12	Louisiana	6
Rhode Island.....	4	Kentucky	12
Connecticut	6	Tennessee	13
New York.....	36	Indiana	12
New Jersey	7	Illinois.....	9
Pennsylvania.....	26	Missouri	7
Delaware	3	Arkansas.....	3
Maryland.....	8	Michigan.....	5
Virginia.....	17	Florida	3
North Carolina....	11	Texas.....	4
South Carolina....	9	Iowa.....	4
Georgia	10	Wisconsin	4

290 votes.

Wednesday, 23.—Feel unwell. Try and work it off. In the evening, getting worse. Bloody flux. At night worse. Sent for Dr. Hewitt, C. B. G. and Mr Peery. Became insensible. Took blood. Blistered. Took calomel, blue mass, and all sorts of things. Inflammation of the bowels.

Thursday, 24.—Inflammation somewhat reduced. Weak and feeble.

Friday, 25.—Improving a little. Less fever. Taking oil, Dover's powders, etc. Blisters sore.

Saturday, 26.—Taking charcoal, morphine, etc. Improving. Got my newspapers. But not much news.

Sunday, 27.—Improving on charcoal and morphine. M. R. W. and lady, J. W., C. G. and M^r Hunter called to see me. Beautiful day. In the evening T. H. Noble called and spent an hour.

Monday, 28.—Feel feeble; no appetite. Fever down. Weak pulse.

Tuesday, 29.—Attended the sheriffs¹ election. The result was Irvin P. Long vice John Hicks, Jr.; Michael Frost re-elected. A committee of thirteen constitution tinkers appointed.

Wednesday, 30.—Quite unwell. Sent for S. Armstrong for consultation about the schism [and the] cantankerous capers of the abolitionists. Appointed Friday, September 1, for a National Convention at the camp grounds for the discussion of the question, North and South. A little rain in the evening. Took a blue pill on going to bed. Heard of the death of W. Bowers' wife.

Thursday, 31.—Quite unwell. Rode up to F. A. Hicks's and spent the evening. Warm and sultry.

SEPTEMBER, 1848.

Friday, 1.—Pursuant to notice the Nation assembled at the camp ground and at 12 o'clock proceeded to organize by the appointment of James Washington, President, and John Hicks, Sen'r, Vice President; and W. Walker, Secretary. The object [of the Convention] being to determine whether the Nation will declare for the Southern division of the M. E. Church, or the Northern. After an animated discussion by S. Armstrong, W. Walker, M. R. Walker, J. D. Brown, F. A. Hicks, David Young and others in favor of the South, and J. M. Armstrong,² G. I. Clark, Esqr. Gray-Eyes, in favor

¹ There were two sheriffs.

² John McIntyre Armstrong, son of Robert and Sarah (Zane) Armstrong, was born October, 7, 1813. He was the leader of those Wyandots that refused to go to the M. E. Church, South, in the division. He was by profession an Attorney-at-Law, and was associated for some time with Hon. John Sherman of Mansfield, Ohio. He practiced

of the North, a preamble and resolution [were] adopted by which the Nation declared for the South.

Saturday, 2.—Warm and sultry. In the afternoon we had severe and sharp thunder and lightning. Struck a linn tree at our barn. Rained about half an hour. Cleared up in the evening.

Sunday, 3.—Warm and sultry as usual. No preaching at the Church. Staid at home.

Monday, 4.—Received a letter from Major Harvey upon the subject of N. and S., abolitionism, etc. M^{rs} Chick paid us a visit and staid all night.

Tuesday, 5.—Staid at home all day. Writing an appeal to the Ohio conference. C. G. and I wrote a joint letter to Col. Goodin.

Wednesday, 6.—Quite unwell. Gastritis, Enteritis; taking "Longley's Panacea." Horrid stuff!

Thursday, 7.—To-day the church members were to be assembled at the new brick Church to vote on the question "North or South," but unfortunately the members refused to attend, and so ended the affair. A rather severe rebuke to the agitators.

before the Interior Department, mostly in matters pertaining to Indian affairs. He seems to have been a man of strong convictions, and fearless in his actions. He married Miss Lucy Bigelow (born July 31, 1818), daughter of Rev. Russel Bigelow, the famous Methodist divine of Ohio, February, 20, 1838. Of this marriage were born: 1. Ethan McIntyre, born August 24, 1839; 2. Caroline Amelia Mead, born August 9, 1841, married L. L. Hartman, September 2, 1862; 3. Russel Bigelow, born October 20, 1843, married Rachel M. Brown, May 17, 1868; 4. Henry Jacquis, born May 6, 1846; 5. Ellen Clarrissa Gurley, born August 9, 1848, married James Edwin Howie, August 25, 1871; 6. William Silas, born January 30, died March 26, 1851.

J. M. Armstrong was one of the first to build a house in the "Wyandot Purchase." He taught the first school in the Nation after the removal West. The writings of his widow, Mrs. Lucy B. Armstrong, upon the early settlement and early time of what is now Kansas, are very important, but scattered about through the newspapers and other publications of her time.

J. M. Armstrong died at Mansfield, Ohio, April 11, 1852. He was on his way to Washington. He stopped at Mansfield to see Hon. John Sherman; he was taken sick and died suddenly. He was temporarily buried at Mansfield, but his wife subsequently had his body removed to Bellefontaine, Ohio, and buried beside his mother.

Lucy B. Armstrong died January 1, 1892.

Friday, 8.—The President, James Washington; Vice President, John Hicks, Sen'r; the committee, S. Armstrong, F. A. Hicks, W. Walker, and Little Chief met and adopted an address to the Ohio Conference to be sent to Cincinnati for publication, by next mail.¹

Saturday, 9.—Dry weather. Jesse Stern and a M^r Cromwell of Ohio called upon us and staid awhile. Warm, warm. The Deacon gone to the P. O. Sent the Document by him to be mailed.

Sunday, 10.—Cool morning. Went to Church and heard a sermon by Rev. M^r Hurlburt. Large congregation. Warm and dry weather. Half past three o'clock P. M., commenced raining, but did not continue long.

Monday, 11.—Foggy morning and cloudy. 11 o'clock it cleared up and became warm.

This morning David Young lost his little boy—died of a *remittent fever*. In the afternoon, thunder and lightning, but had no rain.

Tuesday, 12.—Cloudy, misting rain. To-day our people commence their worship in the wilderness, in other words, their camp-meeting. Fears are entertained that they will have bad weather. M. R. Walker, Jesse Stern and company making preparations for a "buffalo hunt." At night, a most furious rain came on; continued all night, till daylight.

Wednesday, 13.—Raining furiously. Cleared up at 10 o'clock. All in a bustle. Packing up preparing to move to the camp meeting. Wrote to Samuel Kerr of Pennsylvania, to go by to-morrow's mail. Loaded up our effects and put out.

Thursday, 14.—Thursday 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th at camp meeting.

¹ This address was published in the *Western Christian Advocate* and called forth a reply from the opposition, which was published in the same paper. It was all concerning the division in the Church into the North and South.

Came home at 4 o'clock P. M. During the meeting the weather was cloudy and cold.

Tuesday, 19.—Cloudy morning. Cold and chilly. William Gibson, Joseph White and Peter Buck came to cut up my corn and proceeded to operations. Clear and cold night. We may have frost. . . .

Wednesday, 20.—Sure enough. Jack Frost has paid us his first visit for the season. Farewell summer! . . .

Thursday, 21.—The boys finished cutting up corn. M^{rs} W. and Harriet went to Kansas.

Friday, 22.—Wrote to M^r A. Guthrie the decision of the Council upon his petition.

Saturday, 23.—The Nation assembled to hear the report of the Revising Committee, after which a legislative committee was elected as follows: W. Walker, J. M. Armstrong, Jas. Washington, George Armstrong, and J. W. Gray Eyes. Failure in the mail. A failure in the mail to-day.

Sunday, 24.—Went to Church and heard a Mohawk sermon by M^r Cusick.¹

Monday, 25.—Went to town. No mail yet. Writing for Dr. Hewitt. In the evening, commenced raining.

Tuesday, 26.—Went to town. Called upon the Council and submitted a proposition. Came home.

Wednesday, 27.—Hunted [for] my oxen all day, but could not find them. They are not to be found when wanted.

¹ This was undoubtedly David Cusick. He was a Tuscarora, and wrote a work on the early history and myths of the Iroquois. In the Bibliography of the Iroquoian Languages issued by the Bureau of Ethnology I find the following sketch: "David Cusick, the Tuscarora historian, was the son of Nicholas Cusick, who died on the Tuscarora Reservation, near Lewiston, N. Y., in 1840, being about 82 years old. David received a fair education and was thought a good doctor by both whites and Indians. He died not long after his father."

Mr. Cusick was on his way to the Senecas at this time. He remained among the Senecas for some time, I think as much as a year, when he returned to Canada, as they supposed. Matthias Splitlog knew him well in Canada, and often spoke of him as one of the wisest Indians that ever lived.

In Beauchamp's *Iroquoian Trail*, p. 42, it is said that it was James Cusick who became a Baptist minister. If so, he is probably the person who preached to the Wyandots. But many of the old Wyandots were acquainted with David Cusick.

Thursday, 28.—Hunted again but with like success.

Friday, 29.—Went in company with M^{rs} H. W.¹ to hunt grapes, but found few.

Saturday, 30.—Went to Kansas. Got my mail, not much news. Dined at M^{rs} Chick's. Came home in the evening. Done up my Saturday's chores.

OCTOBER, 1848.

Sunday, 1.—Sabbath morn. Fine weather. Staid at home all day.

Monday, 2.—Phœbus! What a frost! Thermometer mercury below freezing point, but clear and a fair prospect of a warm day. Attended the meeting of the legislative committee.

Tuesday, 3.—Frosty morning. Cloudy. Foul weather. Peradventure, rain. Attended the legislative committee. It turned out a pleasant day. However, at night we had a slight sprinkling.

Wednesday, 4.—M^{rs} W. went to K. intending to stay all night. Warm day. My oxen, through the carelessness of that drunken Irishman, got out of J. W's lot and made their escape. Finished reading Senator Benton's speech in opposition to Gen. Kearney's nomination for Brevet Major General for services in California. The speech occupies 11 numbers of the National Intelligencer. Well, K's nomination was confirmed, but he did not deserve it.

Thursday, 5.—Went to attend the meeting of the legislative committee but the Council convening, [it] called upon the committee to sit in joint meeting for the transaction of extraordinary business. Adjourned and came home. Wrote a letter to John T. Walker at Laguna. Indian Summer; warm and pleasant.

Friday, 6.—Warm and smoky weather. Somewhat cloudy.

¹ Hannah Walker, his wife.

Rain perhaps. Got Irish John and the team and hauled some cord-wood, then hauled a barrel of flour to S. Armstrong's, then came home.

Saturday, 7.—Cool and cloudy. M. R. Walker and company returned last night. All well. Had glorious sport. Killed lots of buffaloes. Lived luxuriantly.

We (i. e., three of us, M^{rs} W. [and] Harriet) went across the Missouri and paid M^r Th. H. Noble a visit. Dined and came home.

Sophia went to Kansas to get our mail if any there be. [She] Returned, but brought but little news. No letters.

Sunday, 8.—Cold and cloudy morning. Prospect of rain. Rev. M^r Hurlburt is to preach to-day. Staid at home.

Monday, 9.—M^r Hurlburt called over and staid some time, during which time an interesting conversation ensued upon the slave question and its concomitants.

Tuesday, 10.—Set out for the grand convocation of Indian tribes near Fort Leavenworth, in company with John Hicks, Sen'r, James Rankin, and F. A. Hicks, and arrived at the general camping ground in the evening. Found the Delawares, Shawnees, Miamis, Peoris, Kansas, Sacs and Foxes already on the ground, and the Kansas camp in a bustle, making preparations for a grand dance.¹

Wednesday, 11.—In Council.

Thursday, 12.—In Council.

¹ This is the great convention at which the emigrant tribes rekindled the Council Fire of the ancient Confederacy. Peter D. Clark, in his "Traditional History of the Wyandots," page 131, says it was in 1846; evidently an error, although a Council was held before this, which was a preliminary meeting.

At this Council the position of the Wyandots as keepers of the Council-fire of the Northwestern Confederacy was confirmed and renewed. It is not meant to intimate anywhere in this work that the Wyandots were made dictators of the Confederacy, and ruled it, or exercised any arbitrary power over it. The other tribes recognized in the Wyandots strong and moderate men that were capable of weighing well any matter and forming a correct judgment. The Indian rendered military service voluntarily. The order of the greatest Chief or highest Council was only a suggestion, and while the Indian usually obeyed, he might obey or not as he chose. The personal liberty of the Indian was complete.

Friday, 13.—In Council.

Saturday, 14.—In Council.

Sunday, 15.—In Council.

Monday, 16.—In Council.

Tuesday, 17.—In Council.

Wednesday, 18.—Returned from the Great Council after dark.

Thursday, 19.—Went over and spent the day with M. R. W. In the evening a gang of the official members of the Church assembled in our house on ecclesiastical business, and remained till 11 o'clock at night.

Friday, 20.—Went to town and gave to Dr. Hewitt some MSS. and had some chat with him upon Indian affairs, annual report, difficulties in the Nation upon Church matters. Came home.

Saturday, 21.—Wrote an address to the Indian Mission Conference for the official members. In the evening Mr Peery returned from K. but brought us no mail. No news from Ohio about the election. In the evening the *notorious* Bishop Andrews¹ came over. Called upon him at the Deacon's. Found him sociable and affable.—a real burly Georgian.

Sunday, 22.—Attended Church and heard the Bishop preach. In the afternoon he dined with us. Rainy and unpleasant day.

Monday, 23.—Went to town for news. Sent Mich. Frost to the P. O. Got a lot of newspapers. The fulmination of the dog-skinning committee² published in the Western Ad-

¹ I believe it is not generally known that Bishop Andrews ever visited what is now Kansas. I did not know it until I read it here in Governor Walker's Journal.

² This was one of the exciting incidents in the troubles between the adherents of the M. E. Church and those of the M. E. Church, South. The supporters of the latter Church printed and distributed notices containing the announcement that the people were requested to meet at a certain time and place "to see a dog skinned." The novelty of the announcement drew many to the meeting. The "skinning" consisted of a discussion of Church matters and the adoption of resolutions condemning the opposing Church. The vote was reached at dusk. The adherents of the M. E. Church published

vocate. It has created some excitement among the seceders. Chiefs making out the Pay roll. A number of visitors this evening. A preacher, it seems, is appointed by the Ohio Conference, to come in here and sneak about like a night burglar or incendiary to do *harm* and not *good*. What is it that religious fanaticism will not do! The seceders have stolen the church records.¹

Tuesday, 24.—Staid all day at home. At night a number of our friends came and staid till a late hour discussing various matters. Determined to call in the authority of the Nation and the Indian Agent to protect their rights from the seceders.

Wednesday, 25.—Payment of the annuity commenced. Esau returned. Nothing of interest. Paid out \$3,000.

Thursday, 26.—Payment continued. Paid out \$2,000.

Friday, 27.—Payment continued and closed. Wrote to Mr Greer. Gave him Yorrick.

the facts in the *Western Christian Advocate* of Cincinnati, Ohio, and put the opposition upon the defensive. The incident increased the bitterness between the factions, and resulted in an appeal to the Ohio Conference to send a missionary to the M. E. Church, which appeal was complied with. Governor Walker was extremely bitter, intolerant and unjust in his attitude toward the M. E. Church, although he did not belong to the Church, South, and his wife and daughter Martha belonged to the M. E. Church. Mrs. Walker went with the Church, South, at the beginning, but returned to the M. E. Church soon afterwards and remained in it until her death.

¹ It cannot be conceded that the adherents to the M. E. Church were the seceders. The division of territory agreed upon between the Churches when they separated threw the Wyandots in that assigned to the Church, South. The Wyandots were not parties to this action of the General Conference that arranged the division. Many of them refused to abide the action, and remained in the old Church. The more wealthy slaveholding class went with the Church, South, but a majority of the people always remained in the M. E. Church, which never for a moment gave up its organization, nor submitted to the Church, South. The Council passed a resolution declaring for the Church, South, but it could have no effect in Church matters by any action it might take, for Church matters were beyond its control and jurisdiction. As to stealing the Church records, Governor Walker must have been misinformed. The late Mrs. Lucy B. Armstrong gave me many of these old records in 1887 and said that they came into her hands by their being in possession of her husband at his death, at which time he was an officer in the M. E. Church, probably Recording Steward, and that they had always been in the hands of the official board of the M. E. Church. The Washington Avenue M. E. Church, of Kansas City, Kansas, is the old Church brought from Ohio by the Wyandots in 1843, and which was established at Upper Sandusky in 1817; the first Indian Mission ever established by the M. E. Church.

Saturday, 28.—Went to town. The Chiefs commenced paying the public liabilities. By the steamer "Mustang" Adam Hunt and his mother, M^{rs} Williams, and M^{rs} Dickson returned from Canada. Came home. Found our young people engaged in a party. Martha went to the P. O. but got no mail. No news; too bad!

Sunday, 29.—Went to Church and to our astonishment found the Presiding Elder of the Quasi Northern District, a *Mr. Still*; the Deacon, as a matter of Grace, asked him to preach, which he attempted to do. "Sorter" preached. The Church was then divided, South from the North.¹ Meeting appointed by the Northerners for evening.

Monday, 30.—Went to town. The Wyandott Chiefs paid the Delawares the fifth installment of \$4,000.

M^{rs} W. went to K. Came home 3 o'clock, P. M. At candle-light the Wyandott Chiefs met at our domicile and prepared a communication to the Agent, asking the interposition of the Government to keep out of our territory those reverend disturbers of the Nation.²

Tuesday, 31.—Yoked up my oxen. Cut and hauled some wood. Went to town; called at J. Walker's house, and found him and F. A. H. in close consultation upon State affairs. Bought a barrel of flour. Came home.

NOVEMBER, 1848.

Wednesday, 1.—Cold winter morning. Thermometer 24°! Whew! Went out to hunt my swine, but could not find them. Went to town, thence to the ferry. Sent a letter to *John Goodin* by J. Squeendeh-teh³ to the P. O. Came

¹ This record "The Church was then divided, South from the North" is conclusive that the M. E. Church always maintained its organization. And it is also conclusive, if we wished to say so, that from a purely technical standpoint the Church, South, was the seceder. But it had a perfect right to separation, and no objection can be urged against its action.

² This communication was forwarded to the Department of the Interior and nothing came of it; no action was taken.

³ Son of Squeendechtee who is buried in Huron Place Cemetery, and who died in December 1844, aged 61 years. The name should be written Squehn-deh'-teh.

home and done up my "chores." Winter's coming. The forest is dousing her garments and displaying her nudity. For shame!

Thursday, 2.—M^{rs} W. went to K. for our mail. Received a few papers. Ohio gone democratic.

Friday, 3.—Raining, stormy. Finished copying the Journal of the Indian Congress.¹ Went to town and hauled up a barrel of sugar and one of flour.

Saturday, 4.—Clear and cold morning. Wintry weather, *Opened a barrel of sugar*, (200 pounds). We'll see how long this will last.

Hauled wood enough to do a month if the Thermometer dont run down to ("0") zero.

Wrote a warning epistle to Tsees-quau-zhu-touh (J. W.)² to go by Monday's mail.

M^r G—— of Independence arrived, and then the Deacon. Both staid all night.

Sunday, 5.—Clear and frosty. Prospect of a fine day. Went to the Synagogue. Heard the Deacon preach. J. W. Gray Eyes made his debut as interpreter for the Church. We have full autumn upon us, and bleak winter near at hand.

"At last, old autumn rousing, takes
Again his scepter and his throne;
With boisterous hand the trees he shakes
Intent on gathering all his own."

Monday, 6.—Clear, cold and frosty morning. Thermometer 38°. The Deacon took leave of us and put out. Went to town. Purchased twelve and a half bushels of winter apples at 40c per bushel.

Tuesday, 7.—Thermometer 30° at sunrise! Must kill a pig. Want fresh Pork. Tired of musty bacon and poor beef. Roast pig, ah! That's it! Fetch in on, Dorcas. Went

¹ I have searched unsuccessfully for fifteen years for this Journal. It must be lost; probably among the papers spoken of as having been destroyed by mice. What a pity so valuable a historical document should meet such a fate!

² Joel Walker. This is his second Indian name.

to town and found the Council in session. They requested the school directors to report the state of the school funds, which they did and closed their year's accounts for 1848.

Wednesday, 8.—Went to K. and paid my taxes.

Thursday, 9.—Severe morning. Thermometer 10°. *Winter weather.* Ice floating in the Kansas River.

Friday, 10.—Cloudy weather. Prospect of snow. Thermometer 15°. Hiatus—Blank—neglecting my Journal.

Thursday, 23.—Pretty clearly ascertained that Gen. Zachary Taylor of Louisiana is elected president of the U. S., beating Lewis Cass, and Martin Van Buren. Aye, and Gerrit Smith.

Attended a party at J. Walker's.

Friday, 24.—M^{rs} W., Sophia and Theodore went to Independence. I cut up and salted away a quarter of beef.

Saturday, 25.—Cut up some wood. Read newspapers, chatted with M^r Russell, and so whiled the day away. In the evening Theodore and Sophia returned from Independence, but no M^{rs} W. She had wisely come to the conclusion it was a little too cold a day to travel.

Sunday, 26.—Went to Church. M^r Russell officiated. Came home, ate dinner, and felicitatus. By the way, C. Graham called upon me and informed [me] that Col. Goodin was about to remit me \$600. Welcome news. Now, I'll, I'll, Ahem—etc.

Monday, 27.—Went to town. Called at the smithshop. Had a chat with Dr. H. upon the subject of our difficulties. Came home and sent an invitation to M^{rs} Williams and M^{rs} Hunt to come and spend to-morrow afternoon. In the evening C. B. G. called and spent the evening.

Tuesday, 28.—Warm and pleasant day. Received a communication from Col. Goodin covering a remittance of *one thousand and eighty dollars*, the proceeds of my Hardin county lands.

Rev. J. Thompson Peerey, our newly appointed missionary, moved into the parsonage. In the evening by invitation M^{rs} Williams and M^{rs} Hunt spent the evening with us.

Wednesday, 29.—Fury and daggers! Snowing at Jehu's gait. Storm and tempest. Attended the session of the legislative committee. Adjourned at four o'clock, came home.

Thursday, 30.—Clear and cold morning. Attended the session of the legislative committee. M^{rs} W. and Harriet went on a friendly visit to the E. T. P's and staid all night. To-night will be held the first official meeting of the Church South under the administration of Rev. J. T. Peerey.

DECEMBER, 1848.

Friday, 1.—Called upon M^r Peerey and presiding elder Stateler. Cut and hauled wood. M^{rs} W. and Harriet returned from their visit.

M^r James Gurley, the preacher sent by the Ohio annual conference to preach abolitionism to the Wyandotts, has just arrived. So I suppose we are to have religious dissensions in full fruition.

Saturday, 2.—M^r Gurley called upon us and defended his position. If he follows the instructions received from Bishop Morris we shall not have much trouble, for he will "gather up his awls" and pull out.

M^r Graham and Joel came and staid till bed time.

Sunday, 3.—Cloudy morning, prospect of snow. Must go to the synagogue and hear M^r Gurley "hold forth." He held forth. Went to Church at early candle-lighting and heard the preacher in charge, J. T. Peerey.

Monday, 4.—At daylight, Great Cæsar! What a snow storm. The elements in the wildest commotion. Flakes of snow whirling as large as leather aprons. Stormed all day and snow and sleet. Kept close quarters all day.

Tuesday, 5.—Sleet, sleet. Cloudy and dreary, Surely

winter is now upon us. At 1 o'clock the misty sleet continues. No mail. My maledictions upon the mail contractors.

Wednesday, 6.—Cold, cloudy morning. Attended the session of the legislative committee. Sleet all day. Came home after nightfall.

Thursday, 7.—Fury and snakes! At daylight, snow, sleet and rain! When is this *horrible tempest* to come to an end. The sun has fled, and blackness, darkness, and storms are running their wild career to the utter dismay of all upper Missouri. Attended the session of the legislative committee. In the evening the weather cleared up and at night the moon shone with unusual brilliancy. Clear and very cold.

Friday, 8.—At daylight the thermometer stood 5° below zero. Cut and hauled wood all day, being clear and pleasant, though cold.

Saturday, 9.—Storm, storm again. Snow and sleet. Went to town, and called upon Dr. H. Came home. Chopped wood for Sunday. Sleet again.

Sunday, 10.—Staid at home. Wrote for Dr. H. a reply to Dr. Simpson's editorial. Went down in the evening. Came home at 10 o'clock at night. A severe night. Every creek or spring run frozen up.

Monday, 11.—At daylight thermometer 18° below "0" zero. Sophia set out for Independence. A cold ride. Staid at home all day and made fires. That and chopping kept me constantly employed.

Tuesday, 12.—At daylight thermometer 10° below zero. Went to F. A. Hicks and had a chat. Selected Little Chief as my adjunct voter, this being the day appointed by law for the election of ferryman. At 2 o'clock the joint meeting proceeded to ballot for a ferryman. After several ballots all the candidates were dropped except D. Young and Tall Charles and the final ballot on these two stood thus: D. Young, 16; Tall Charles, 7. Majority 9 votes. Adjourned.

Wednesday, 13.—Weather moderated. M^{rs} W. and Harriet gone to Kansas on foot. Little Thunder chopping wood for me. C. B. G. slaughtering hogs to-day. Bought a hog from him, and at candle-lighting I cut it up and salted it away.

Thursday, 14.—At daylight thermometer 10° above "0" zero. Staid at home. Wrote a long letter for Adam Brown to Col. Prince, M. P., Canada.

Friday, 15.—At daylight thermometer 10° above "0." Prospect of a pleasant day. This evening quarterly meeting commences in Wyandott. Staid at home all day.

Saturday, 16.—Weather moderating. Went to Church and heard M^r Stateler preach. Attended Church at night.

Sunday, 17.—Went to Church again. At night E. T. P. and M^r Russell came home [with me] and staid all night.

Monday, 18.—Settled with E. T. P. and gave him an order on J. W. and Co. Warm day and a general thaw. Attended Church after night.

Tuesday, 19.—Cut and hauled wood. Went to the Council. Dr. H. recommended to the President for an appointment in California. Came home. The trustees of the Church meet to-night in the basement story.

Wednesday, 20.—Thermometer 10° above "0." Cloudy and prospect of more snow. Cold, cold winter. At 3 o'clock P. M. it commenced sleeting and continued all night mixed with snow.

Thursday, 21.—Horrible! Sleet and snow in all its fury. Thermometer 2° below "0." 8 o'clock snowing with an horrible tempest. During the whole of this day the snowstorm continued in all its fury without abatement. Legislative committee in session.

Friday, 22.—At daylight thermometer 20° below zero. Clear, cold all day. Staid at home.

Saturday, 23.—At daylight thermometer stood 29° below zero!

Sunday, 24.—Cold and freezing weather.

Monday, 25.—A merry Christmas! Off in a tangent.

Hiatus. Holiday week, close of the year. Mean time, horrible weather.

JANUARY, 1849.

Monday, 1.—A happy new year to ye all!

Tuesday, 2.—Stormy weather, horrible!

Wednesday, 3.—Cold. Put up hogs to fatten. Then went over the Missouri to buy some pork, but found [it] frozen, [and] took none.

Thursday, 4.—Staid at home all day. Made fires, etc.

Friday, 5.—Thermometer 8° below "0." Clear but cold all day. Staid at home all day and attended to my stock. My horse Dragon gave me the slip and ran off.

Saturday, 6.—Thermometer 6° below "0." Cloudy all day. At 1 o'clock [the] mercury rose to 15°. At four commenced snowing and continued till 10 at night.

Sunday, 7.—Snowing still. Mercury 25°. 11 o'clock, growing warm, rain perhaps. Went to Church and heard a sermon from Rev. M^r Hurlburt. A good one. M^r Peerey then by request announced an appointment for Rev. M^r Gurley for 3 o'clock. Well, he preached about Moses in the bulrushes.

Monday, 8.—Thermometer "0." Cloudy. Such a winter for Missouri! In north latitude 39°, and west longitude 17°. Snow and sleet for a month. The snow now on the ground though solid and compact, is two feet deep. At 3 o'clock P. M. snow again and continued till 9 o'clock.

Tuesday, 9.—Clear, thermometer "0." The sun has shown his face once more. Attended the National meeting. Read and proclaimed the new code of laws. Then proceeded to the election of a sheriff, in the place of I. P. Long,¹ resigned. Thomas Pipe elected.

¹ Irvin P. Long was the son of Alexander Long, who was an American officer in the

Wednesday, 10.—At daylight thermometer 22° below “0”! Hauled wood and potted about the house. Clear and cold all day. Thermometer standing all day at zero.

Thursday, 11.—Thermometer 10° below “0.” At sunrise the wind from S. E. At 12 o’clock the weather began to moderate, and continued warm all the afternoon and thawed during the night.

Friday, 12.—Thermometer 38°. Cloudy. A thaw. In the afternoon rain. Rained till late in the night. Went to Kansas and mailed one letter to Col. M. H. Kirby and one to the P. M. at Branch.

Saturday, 13.—Thermometer “0” and snowing. Well, well. This is wild winter. Cloudy all day and thermometer “0.” To-day Mr. Jackson of Kansas, who died yesterday, was buried with masonic honors. In the evening Mr G. of Independence came. A meeting of the officiary of the Church South met at Mr P’s after candle-light. This

war of 1812, and who married Catherine Zane. There is an amusing account of Alexander Long’s conversion, at a camp meeting, in Finley’s “Western Methodism.” I have not been able to procure material for even a short sketch of Irvin P. Long. For his maternal ancestry see note on the Zane family. He was a soldier in the Mexican War and his commanding officer, the late Major W. P. Overton, has often said to me that Irvin P. Long was the bravest soldier he ever saw. He said that he had seen Long charge with others upon a battery; every other man was either killed or forced back, but Long made his horse leap in amongst the gunners, and he cut down the last man with his sword. “This,” said he, “I have seen him do more than once; and in battle he constantly yelled the Wyandot war-whoop, a peculiar sound that almost curdled my blood and made my flesh creep.” Hon. Silas Armstrong, of the Indian Territory, has described to me Mr. Long’s death. He knew he must soon die, but he faced death with the bravery of an Indian. He refused to lie down, even when he was assured he would live but a few minutes. He maintained his position in his easy chair and gave directions about his affairs, and conversed on other matters in a manner that convinced all present that he was entirely devoid of any fear of death. When the fatal moment came he rested his head on the back of his chair and died without a gasp or struggle. How vastly superior to that of the white man is the view of death held by the Indian! He is educated to have no fear of death; to face it bravely; and to glory in triumphing over it even at the stake.

Irvin P. Long was one of the company made up by Charles B. Garrett and other Wyandots to go to California in 1849. This company crossed the plains and mined on the North Fork of the Feather River. See Governor Walker’s Journal and the sketch of Charles B. Garrett.

He was a member of Wyandotte Lodge No. 3, A. F. & A. M., and Wyandotte Chapter No. 6, R. A. M.

morning Dan Punch was found frozen to death near the grave yard.

Sunday, 14.—Thermometer 10° below “0.” Cloudy. Thermometer stood at zero all day. Harriet and M^r G. went to church. I staid at home. At one o’clock sleet, horrid. This weather will kill our live stock. Thermometer at “0” still.

There will be an eclipse of the moon on the 8th of March and an eclipse of the sun on the 17th of August.

At 3 o’clock P. M. sleet again and continued till late in the night.

Monday, 15.—Thermometer 5° below “0.” Clear. Cut and hauled some wood. Clear all day, but cold. M^{rs} W. went to Kansas. M^r Ross came and spent the evening.

Tuesday, 16.—Thermometer 10° below “0.” Cloudy. Have a severe pain under my left shoulder. Something like pleurisy. Attended the National meeting. Gave notice of a meeting next Friday; of a meeting of such Wyandotts as are not members of the Church. Hired John Big-Sinew and came home.

Wednesday, 17.—Thermometer 5° below “0.” Clear. Pleasant and clear but rather cold all day. John Big-Sinew and I cut and hauled wood and [hauled] corn fodder.

Thursday, 18.—At daylight, 11° below “0.” Clear. Went to Kansas and got a pile of newspapers. Came home and perused them.

Friday, 19.—At daylight, thermometer 7° below “0.”

Saturday, 20.—Went to Kansas. Came home at 1 o’clock P. M. A general thaw. M^r Porter and Sophia called at our house. She staid, and he went “te hum.”

Sunday, 21.—Thermometer 5° below “0.” Clear. Some prospect of a warm day, but [it] proved rather cold. In the afternoon Sophia returned with M^r J. Porter to Independence.

Monday, 22.—Thermometer 5° below “0.” Have taken a most villainous cold. Sick, sick! Rev. John T. Peery and lady dined with us to-day.

Tuesday, 23.—Thermometer “0.” Cloudy. In regard to the weather “we know not what a day may bring forth.” Dreary winter continues to sway his frigid and chilling scepter over us poor Missourians. Council meets to-day, but thank my stars I have nothing to do with it. They may hold a court of inquiry over George Coke and wife, charged with the murder of the late Daniel Punch. In the afternoon John Big-Sinew, and John Coon-Cripple came to work. In the evening, rain—rained all night.

Wednesday, 24.—Rain; a general thaw. I am sick. Sent for Matthew R. W. to ascertain whether he had any medicines, having none myself. He went home and sent me some croup syrup.

Thursday, 25.—Snow nearly gone. Foggy and warm. Rested better last night. [I] Begin to expectorate. My boys left this morning. At 11 o'clock the wind from the N. W., and getting colder and spitting snow again. Well, well, what weather.

“Arriere ceux dont la bouche
Souffle le froid et le chaud !”

Sent Theodore to Kansas for our mail. No mail came to Kansas, because as usual the “Blue is up.” The contractor ought to be drowned in the Blue! Turning cold.

Friday, 26.—Thermometer 8°. Clear. M^{rs} W. gone to S. A.’s. His wife being very sick. Wrote a long epistle to Esau at Cincinnati and dated it the 25th through mistake. Moderately warm through the day.

Saturday, 27.—Thermometer 10°. Cloudy. Sent Esau’s letter. Went over to C. B. Garrett’s and got my pup “Carlo,” Junior, and brought him home. Cloudy and warm. I want my mail. I hope “the Blue” is not “up again.” M^{rs} Armstrong, it is said, is still very sick.

Thawed all night. Warm this morning and cloudy. Looks very much like rain. Cloudy and wet all day.

Sunday, 28.—Went to Church. Came home and found Dr. Hewitt in possession of the house, waiting our return. We chatted about various matters. Dined and he went home. Cloudy and misting all day.

Monday, 29.—Cloudy and wet. Sleet, sleet, is there to be no end to sleet. Went over to M. R. W.'s and spent the afternoon. At night it snowed.

Tuesday, 30.—Thermometer 10° above zero. Snow on the ground. Sleet again. Went to attend the session of the Council in order to report the result of the meeting on the 19th of the non-professing members, who decided that both missionaries should be expelled from the nation. Made my report, and closed with a speech, *defining our position*, and closed with a solemn warning to the northern faction.¹ Came home. Found John Big-Sinew and Smith Nichols had returned to go to work.

Wednesday, 31.—Sleet, sleet!! Oh, glorious weather! Maria Monk had a calf last night, but it was frozen to death. Nine o'clock, sleet, sleet, sleet. Go it. Ten o'clock. Getting warmer. Raining, raining. At 7 o'clock at night it cleared up and the moon and stars shone as brilliant as gems.

FEBRUARY, 1849.

Thursday, 1.—Clear and cold. Thermometer 10° above "0." Prospect of a pleasant day, but how long. Went to Kansas. The mail came in but the papers were all "a dog's age old." Done some shopping and came home. Discharged my hands.

Friday, 2.—Clear. Thermometer 10° above "0." At 8 o'clock cloudy. M^s W. and Martha went to Kansas to stay

¹ This action resulted in the expulsion of the Missionary of the M. E. Church. The Missionary of the M. E. Church, South, was not molested.

all night. Went to town and found it deserted. All gone to K. Heard that James Monture had murdered his wife. Pleasant day.

Saturday, 3.—Thermometer “0.” Clear and beautiful morning. Finished a document for Deacon E. T. P. Warm and pleasant day. M^{rs} W. and Martha returned.

Sunday, 4.—Cloudy morning. Thermometer 20° above “0.” More snow or sleet perhaps. Went to Church. More depredations committed upon it by the disciples of the Northern Church. Warm and pleasant all day.

Monday, 5.—At sunrise thermometer 5° below “0.” Clear. Pleasant day. Went to Kansas and settled up various accounts. Paid off some of my bills.

Tuesday, 6.—Came home. At night guarded the “synagogue” till midnight from the incendiaries’s brand. After we came away the work of destruction was renewed.

Wednesday, 7.—Thermometer 5° below “0.” Warm and pleasant.

Thursday, 8.—Thermometer 10° above “0.”

Friday, 9.—Wrote a com. from M^{rs} N. G. to A. G. and after that, glad to get rid of her.

Saturday, 10.—Warm and pleasant day, a general thaw. In the evening, Rev. M^r Russell called and staid till bedtime. To-day is the time appointed for the Northern Q. M. But will it be held?

Sunday, 11.—Thermometer 8° above “0.” Went to Church and heard M^r Russell preach. Came home, then went to Dr. Hewitt’s and staid an hour. Then called on M^r Cotter.

Monday, 12.—Thermoneter “0.” At daylight cloudy. Went to town. Little or no news. Got my iron kettle home and prepared for butchering my swine. Employed John Big-Sinew and John Coon, jr.

Tuesday, 13.—Thermometer 10° above "0." Commenced operations on my swine. Raw and cold all day.

Wednesday, 14.—Thermometer 3° below "0." Cloudy. Cut up and salted away my pork, then rested the remainder of the day. Cloudy and cold all day. Killed a crow with my "double barrel," by way of variety.

Thursday, 15.—Thermometer 5° below "0." Clear. Clear, but cold all day. Sent by J. T. Peerey for my mail. Peter Warpole¹ died last night.

Friday, 16.—Thermometer "0." Went in company with Dr. Hewitt and paid a visit to Deacon Peerey. Came home in the evening.

Saturday, 17.—Phoebus! Wind blowing and snow flying! Thermometer at "0." At sunrise a large luminary appeared near the sun, called a sun-dog. Cold, cloudy, and windy all day. Severe weather.

Sunday, 18.—Thermometer 10° below "0." Clear. Went to Church and heard a sermon from J. T. Peerey. Came home and took my seat by a comfortable *family fire*. Felicitatus! Cold, cold, horrid cold. But look out to-night. Whew!

Monday, 19.—Thermometer 10° below "0." Clear. Sky red at sunrise. Prospect of a warm and pleasant day. Went to town. J. W. removing his goods to Kansas. Dr. H. absent. Came home. Wind from the south, warm.

Tuesday, 20.—Thermometer "freezing point." Cloudy. Two o'clock P. M., a general thaw. Came home from town.

Wednesday, 21.—Raining at daylight. It is probable we shall have a general break up and a deluge. 3 o'clock. Cloudy, hazy, and misting. Our sleighing is now over, and I am not sorry.

Thursday, 22.—Cloudy and still thawing. This is Wash-

¹ Son of Rohn'-tohn-deh, generally written Rontondee, who died November 17, 1843, aged 68 years, and was buried in Huron Place Cemetary. Rohn'-tohn-deh signifies "Warpole." He was known as *Warpole*.

ington's birthday. A ball to come off in Kansas. Hauled some wood in the mud. L. Coffman, Esq., called and I rented him my lot in Kansas till the 1st of September next for \$10.00. My execrations upon John Big-Sinew for not coming according to promise to chop for me.

Friday, 23.—Weather ditto. Thawing. Foggy, etc. Cloudy, sometimes clear, warm. All the little ravines in a roar. The river must rise and no doubt but the "Blue is up," as the mail carrier says. Smith Nichols and John Monture chopping.

Saturday, 24.—Clear morning. "Freezing Point." Last night Miss Peach Blossom gave me the slip. This morning I hunted for her and after a long search found her, she having given birth to a splendid young bull.

Wrote again to Dr. Latta for his paper, but when it will go is hard to tell, as we get no mail these days.

Sunday, 25.—Thermometer 5° below "Freezing point." Cloudy. The ice breaking up in the Missouri and Kansas Rivers. Went to Church. Came home and after dinner returned and heard another sermon without an interpreter. Came home at sunset. J. M. A. set out yesterday to Kickapoo to regulate the Northern Church matters. "*He is some.*" A second Martin Luther. A real reformer. Stultum Stultorum.

Monday, 26.—Thermometer 45°. Cloudy. Thawed all night. Warm and thawing. Snow nearly all gone. Miss Huffacre called and spent the day.

Tuesday, 27.—Thermometer 45°. Cloudy. Warm all day. To-day the [ice in the] Missouri and Kansas [Rivers] broke up with a crash. Attended the meeting of the legislative committee. Passed the general appropriation bill. Came home in company with James Washington and George Armstrong.

Wednesday, 28.—Sleet again. Thermometer 19°. Cloudy;

cold and cloudy all day. Went to town. Got my cane repaired and came home.

MARCH, 1849.

Thursday, 1.—Thermometer 18° above “0.” Cloudy. Looks like snow.

Presidential Election in 1848.

<i>Cass.</i>		<i>Taylor.</i>	
Arkansas.....	3	Connecticut.....	6
Alabama.....	9	Delaware.....	3
Indiana.....	12	Kentucky.....	12
Illinois.....	9	Maryland.....	8
Missouri.....	7	New York.....	36
Michigan.....	5	North Carolina.....	11
Virginia.....	17	New Jersey.....	7
Maine.....	9	Pennsylvania.....	26
New Hampshire.....	6	Rhode Island.....	4
Ohio.....	23	Tennessee.....	13
South Carolina.....	9	Vermont.....	6
Texas.....	4	Louisiana.....	6
Mississippi.....	6	Florida.....	3
Iowa.....	4	Massachusetts.....	12
Wisconsin.....	4	Georgia.....	10
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	127		163

At 2 o'clock P. M. we have sleet again. Oh, sleet, when are we to get rid of thee.

Friday, 2.—At daylight snow on the ground. Cloudy. Thermometer 20°. In the afternoon M. R. W. and I went up to see G. I. C., who has a violent attack of the pneumonia. Cloudy night.

Saturday, 3.—Cloudy. Thermometer 22°. Sleet, sleet. No end to it. To-day closes the administration of James K. Polk. “*Sic transit gloria mundi.*”

1 o'clock, rain and sleet. Verily March has "come in like a lion and will probably *go out like the devil*."

Went to town and called upon Dr. H. Staid an hour and came home.

Sunday, 4.—Rain, rain. *Bella horrida!* This day the United States Republic is without a President. But what is the use of a President such weather as this? 1 o'clock P. M. Rain. Staid at home all day, the weather being too inclement to venture out of the house. 8 o'clock at night. Raining. So we go.

Monday, 5.—My birthday. This day I complete my 48th year, and nimbly step into my forty-ninth. To-day Gen. Z. Taylor steps nimbly into the Presidential chair. "Glory enough for one day."

Tuesday, 6.—Thermometer freezing point. At 9 o'clock the day cleared up and the sun appeared. Wrote a long letter to John T. Walker. Went to town. Sent by Theodore to the P. O. Came home at half past 2 P. M. At night Theodore returned and brought my mail, a real pile of newspapers, with a letter from Hugh Barrett. Read till a late hour in the night. Clear and moonlight night.

Wednesday, 7.—Frosty morning. Clear. Warm day. Perused my newspapers and staid at home all day. Beautiful night. The moon nearly full.

Thursday, 8.—Thermometer "freezing" point. Cloudy. M^{rs} W. gone to see G. I. C. Raining. M^{rs} W. returned. G. I. C. not getting any better. M^{rs} Robataille died this morning.

Friday, 9.—Foggy morning, cloudy and warm. Finished a letter to H. Barrett to go by tomorrow's mail. Went to town and learned that the steamer St. Joseph came up yesterday, but owing to the ice not being broken up above here, returned. The first steamboat up. While in town the "Amelia" came up. To-day M^{rs} Robataille was buried.

Saturday, 10.—Cloudy, warm, and foggy. Prospect of more rain. Went to town and staid all day. The Kansas River still rising. The Turkey Creek bridge gone.¹ Got no mail. The “Mandan” went up to-day. Cloudy all day, but no rain. The California fever rages on the Rialto.

Sunday, 11.—Foggy and cloudy. Warm, prospect of rain. Went to Church. The northern fanatics have stolen our church bible.² I hope the thieves will make good use of it. This is, I suppose, a “pious fraud.” Wrote to Jesse Stern, directing him to take the necessary steps for a legal partition of the Seneca county lands. M^r Caloway and W. H. Chick called on us to-day. Sunset clear. At night clear and starlight.

Monday, 12.—Thermometer 3° below freezing point. Clear and pleasant. Beautiful day. Sent to the P. O. by G. D. Williams, but got nothing but a *Weekly Dollar*. My execrations upon Cave Johnston’s mail contractors. They have ceased carrying the mail between this and St. Louis entirely.

Tuesday, 13.—Cloudy and warm. Prospect of rain to-day. Went to work and hung my old gate which had broken down. The noise of steamers on the river. One half past ten o’clock A. M., rain. Cleared up in the evening, but in a little while distant thunder was heard and it became cloudy again. At dark rain and loud thunder. Cleared up in the night.

Wednesday, 14.—Clear and frosty morning. Prospect of a fine day. 9 o’clock, beautiful day. Clear and warm.

¹ Turkey Creek, a stream running northeast through Shawnee Township, Wyandotte County, Kansas, now empties into the Kansas River just above the Stock Yards. It formerly flowed into the Missouri River just below Dold’s Packing House. The road crossed it on a bridge for a time, and afterwards a ferry-boat was used. The crossing was at the mouth of the creek, as the road ran along the bank of the Missouri River.

² I doubt if it was ever known who stole the Bible. These troubles continued until both Churches were burned. I have investigated this matter until I know absolutely who burned each Church building, but no good could come of making it a matter of record here.

Spring is upon us in all its beauties. Felicitatus. Went to town. Called at the smithshop. Dined at C. G.'s. Called at J. W.'s and got some turnips, then came home. Warm and beautiful day. Clear night, chilly and cold.

Thursday, 15.—Thermometer “freezing” point. Somewhat cloudy. Warm and pleasant day. Hunted for my oxen but could not find them. The old rascals, they knew there was work on hands and “sloped.”

Upon comparing my cranium with Dr. Comb's system of phrenology, I cannot find a single valuable “bump” or development, except that of “benevolence.” Barring this, my cranium is no better than a Baboon's. So that phrenology has laid “all my greatness” on the shelf, and now I am no longer “some in a bear fight.” A long farewell to all my greatness. But then I may have some important *bumps* elsewhere that might boost me up and put me in conceit of myself again. Sent to the P. O. for my mail and as usual got nothing.

Friday, 16.—Light frost. Clear. Hauled some wood out of the corn field. Warm day. Nothing strange occurred. A dull monotonous day. Afflicted with *ennui*. I want my mail!

Saturday, 17.—Thermometer “freezing” point. Cloudy and windy. M^{rs} W. went to Kansas. I went to town. Warm pleasant day. Received some papers from M^r Gilmore. M^{rs} W. returned and brought me a bundle of newspapers, but of old dates. My old chum, S. P. Chase,¹ elected to the U. S. Senate. So much for riding the abolition “hobby.”

Sunday, 18.—Clear frosty morning. Went to Church. A fine congregation. An appointment for worship at the school house at 3 o'clock P. M. Pleasant, clear, and beautiful day. To-day John Porcupine died, but of what com-

¹ They were schoolmates.

plaint I have not yet learned. He was sick but a short time. Attended Church in the afternoon. A good congregation.

Monday, 19.—Clear and warm morning.

Tuesday, 20.—Cloudy.

Hiatus.

Friday, 23.—Thomas H. Noble raised my crib and shed. Warm and pleasant day.

Saturday, 24.—Put on the roof and quit for the day.

Sunday, 25.—Frosty morning. Staid at home all day and read. Wind from the north all day. Chilly.

Monday, 26.—Frosty morning but clear. Beautiful day. Hung up my bacon to dry and smoke. Hauled some slabs and firewood. M^r Bowman commenced boarding [with us] this evening.

Tuesday, 27.—Clear and pleasant morning. Worked all day. Moved our hen house. Repaired our spring, and rested thereon. In the evening a moderate rain.

Wednesday, 28.—Cloudy and foggy. Showery. Went to town and got my gun repaired. Planned a spring house, that is, done the wind work.

Thursday, 29.—Cloudy weather. M^r Bowyer working the garden and I doing chores. Just heard that that dreadful scourge, the Asiatic cholera, has reached Kansas. Well, *keep cool, hold a steady hand*. Commenced gardening to-day. Planted our top onions.

Friday, 30.—Cloudy morning, but no rain. Went to town, got my mail, and a "public document." Warm day. Cool in the evening. At 5 o'clock P. M. Sophia made her appearance in company with M^r Stone of Independence.

Saturday, 31.—Beautiful morning. Worked in the garden. Planted some more top onions. To-day quarterly meeting commences. I went to Church and heard a sermon from M^r Stateler. Warm day.

APRIL, 1849.

Sunday, 1.—Sabbath morn. Fine warm day. Went to Church.

Monday, 2.—Cloudy; prospect of rain. M^r Stateler, M^r Flint, a Shawnee preacher, and F. A. Hicks called and staid awhile in social chat. Planted some more onions. Showery.

Tuesday, 3.—Dark, dark and rainy morning. Must stay in close quarters. But it is all for the best. Vegetation needs rain. This is a most fertilizing shower. 12 o'clock M. Gloomy day. *Ennui*. *Blue devils*. Rain, clouds, fog. I want my mail. Steamers roaring and snorting up the river. Nightfall. Still raining and the wind from the north.

Wednesday, 4.—Sun obscured by clouds. But the rain has ceased. 8 o'clock, cleared up, but cool. Prospect of a fair and pleasant day. Hauled corn and in the evening hauled some wood and took up some grapevines. Clear night. J. Walker returned home.

Thursday, 5.—Frosty morning. Resumed hauling corn, and finished at 12 o'clock. Wrote to Jesse Stern again upon the subject of the land sale. M^{rs} W. gone to Kansas. Cloudy. Looks like rain. Finished hauling corn.

Friday, 6.—Cloudy morning. Went to town and called upon J. Walker and C. Graham. Came home and went to work. M^{rs} Chick moved over to the parsonage.

Saturday, 7.—Cloudy and cold, but no frost. Cut some timber for a trellis work for grape vines in the garden. Cleared up my little meadow. In the evening it rained and continued through the night.

Sunday, 8.—This day, 25 years ago, I and M^{rs} W. were married. A quarter of a century has rolled around, and still it seems but as yesterday! Wrote a letter for M^{rs} Graham to her brother in Kentucky. Went to Church as all good Christians should do.

Monday, 9.—Raining. At 11 o'clock, cleared up, but windy. Ground drying up. Worked at the trellis frame. At half after 5, a beautiful rainbow.

Tuesday, 10.—After a windy night, we have a cold morning, the wind from the north. Thermometer, "freezing point." Council meets to-day, but as I have no business there I will stay where I have business—at home. Dr. Hewitt returned to-day from St. Louis.

Wednesday, 11.—Clear, frosty morning. Having what is called a hoar frost, we shall have a beautiful day. Kansas full of California adventurers. Finished our lattice frame and raised it. Went to town. Got my gardening implements repaired. The flat boat going to Kansas tomorrow. Well, I must go too.

Thursday, 12.—The boat cast off from her moorings and away we went. Landed in Kansas amidst a drenching rain. The rain continuing, we did not put our cargo on board. After a consultation, we concluded to defer loading till the morrow. Secured our boat.

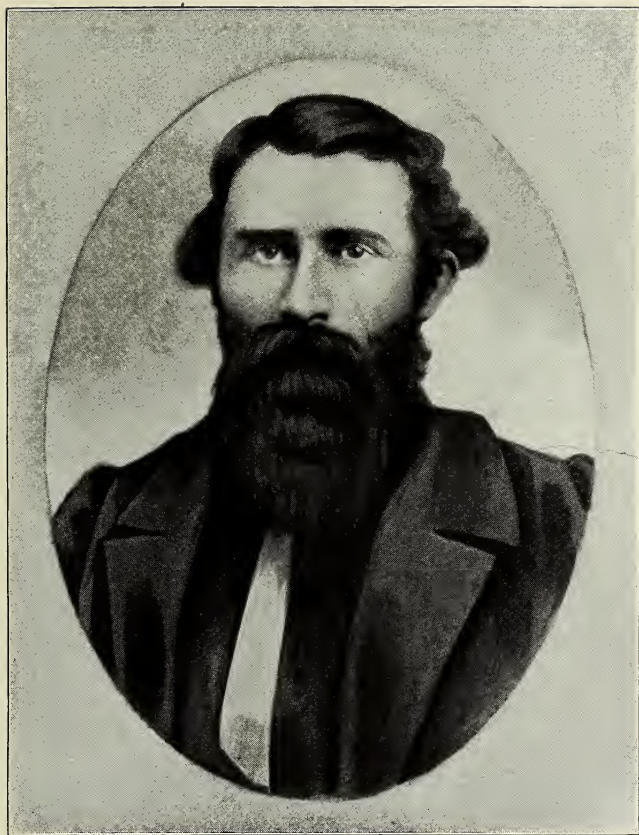
Friday, 13.—Loaded up and commenced *cordelling* the boat up stream against a heavy current. In the bustle I was tipped "overboard" and after a desperate struggle, by the aid of my friends, I got on *terra firma* again, and returned to town and doused my diluted garments and put on others which accorded more to the feelings of "flesh and blood."

Saturday, 14.—Remained in town, feeling unwell.

Hiatu .

Thursday, 19.—Planted some early potatoes and did various other matters about my premises.

Friday, 20.—Warm and pleasant day. Our "*Wyandott Mining Company*" in a stir making preparation for their long journey to California.



ISAIAH WALKER.

Saturday, 21.—Wrote all day in the Agent's office and at night attended a California meeting.

Sunday, 22.—Cloudy morning. Prospect of rain. Went to Church. One half the congregation being Californians from over the river.

Monday, 23.—At daylight, raining. Rained till 11 o'clock. Then cleared off. Hauled some wood, At night a gang of our neighbors, bound for California, called upon us and spent the evening.

Tuesday, 24.—Went to town to write in the Agent's office, but the Agent was absent. Met *Esau*. Had a chat with him. He is destined for Santa Fe. Appointed William Linnville my substitute to represent me in the "*Wyandott Mining Company*." Came home in the evening, etc.

Wednesday, 25.—Went to town to write in the Agent's Office, but the incumbent had other business. So I attended to my own. Went—

Thursday, 26.—Asiatic cholera broke out in K. Isaac McCoy¹ departed this life to-day.

Friday, 27.—Alarm pervades the country. Came home to enjoy the rural atmosphere and keep out of the haunts of this horrid disease.

Saturday, 28.—Inflammation in my left eye.

Sunday, 29.—My eye painful. Kept my bed all day.

Monday, 30.—No better. Michael Frost came to work.

MAY, 1849.

Tuesday, 1.—Cold and cloudy day. In the evening, rained, with thunder and lightning.

Wednesday, 2.—Clear and windy. Heard of the death of Mr Bigerstaff, druggist.

¹ He was a surveyor and had been a missionary to the Indians. He built the first house erected for a permanent residence in what is now Wyandotte County, Kansas. It was built near Edwardsville. Mr. McCoy, it is said, was the first to propose moving Eastern Indians to what is now Kansas. He laid off and surveyed the lands assigned to most of the tribes. He died in Kansas City, Mo., where his descendants still live.

Thursday, 3.—Rain all day. Cholera abating in Kansas. Judge Chaffee of Upper Sandusky landed, on his way to the "Diggins." I am suffering the horrors of *blindness*.

Friday, 4.—Rain last night, and raining this morning. Sent T. F. Garrett to K. for our mail, but got none. J. Chaffee called upon us.

Hiatus.

Thursday, 31.—This day the "Wyandott Mining Company" set out for California. The following are the names of those that set out: I. P. Walker,¹ Capt. Theo. F. Garrett, William Bowers, William Lynville, Ira Hunter, Matthew Brown, C. B. Garrett, Philip Brown, Adam Hunt, R. Palmer, Russell Garrett; E. B. Hand, physician.

JUNE, 1849.

Friday, 1.—Showery, unsettled weather. Mike finished ploughing.

Saturday, 2.—Clear and pleasant. Had custard for dinner, which was very "*delicious to our taste*."

Sunday, 3.—Clear and excessively warm. About noon the mercury stood at 91. In the evening heard of the death of Miss Huffaker. The Missouri is very high and is still on the rise. Fair prospect for another overflow, so the poor French will have to desert their homes in the bottom.²

Monday, 4.—Very warm. The flat-boat went down to Kansas to-day and we sent for some bacon.

Tuesday, 5.—Warm, cloudy, and raining.

Wednesday, 6.—Warm and rainy day. Heard of two cases of cholera on this side. Nothing of importance transpiring. Dull times, very dull.

Thursday, 7.—In the morning clear and warm. In the evening clouded up; prospect of another shower. Mail day,

¹ Governor Walker made a mistake here; he omitted to write I. P. Long.

² Along Turkey Creek, on the banks of the Missouri River.

but as usual, had no chance of sending for *our share in the mail bags*.

Friday, 8.—Showery all day. No mail as yet.

Saturday, 9.—Clear and warm.

Sunday, 10.—Showery and warm. In the evening, had company. M^r Gilmore, Miss Twyman, M^r Stone and M^r Porter.

Monday, 11.—In the morning, had quite a shower with quite a high wind. In the evening cleared off. Got our mail. Dr. Waldo called and staid all night.

Tuesday, 12.—Clear all day, for a wonder.

Wednesday, 13.—Showery. Got one quilt out.

Hiatus.

Monday, 18.—Planted our corn.

Tuesday, 19.—Planted the fall potatoes.

Wednesday, 20.—Warm. Dr. H. called and staid an hour.

Thursday, 21.—Hiatus.

Friday, 22.—Major Cummins arrived with the Wyandott annuity and staid all night with us!

Saturday, 23.—Cloudy, prospect of rain. Major Cummins paid the annuity.

Sunday, 24.—Rained in the forenoon.

Heard of the death of Joseph Chaffee, who died on the 23rd of May last.

Monday, 25.—Staid at home all day. Rain.

Tuesday, 26.—Went to town; rain. Heard of the death of J. K. Polk.

Wednesday, 27.—Staid at home. Warm. Rain as usual.

Thursday, 28.—M^{rs} W. went to K. The P. M. said there was no mail. He lied, the rascal.

Friday, 29.—Foggy morning. Cloudy; more rain to-day. Wrote to the "Wyandott Tribune," announcing J. Chaffee's death. Thunder and lightning. More rain.

Saturday, 30.—Saddled up my horse and went to town, intending to go to Major Cummins', but gave it up and returned home. Warm day. M^r Gilmore came and staid all night.

JULY, 1849.

Sunday, 1.—Staid at home and read and wrote. Foggy morning.

Monday, 2.—Went to town. Came home. Then went to John Lewis's.

Tuesday, 3.—Cloudy; prospect of rain. Rained from 7 to 10 o'clock.

Wednesday, 4.—Rained all night. At daylight, raining furiously. What a day for a celebration! Rain, rain. Cholera broke out afresh this week in Kansas. Eight deaths within this week and it is reported to be raging with violence in St. Louis. Rain, rain.

Thursday, 5.—Cloudy and foggy. Feel quite unwell. Rain, rain.

Friday, 6.—Clear and beautiful morning. Bathed and took my morning walk.

Saturday, 7.—Tho. Moseley, lately appointed Wyandott sub-agent, arrived last evening. I went down to see him and spent the day with him. Rain again. Rain, rain. Came home.

Sunday, 8.—At daylight, rain, rain. At 6 o'clock, an horrible tempest with wind and rain. This being Quarterly Meeting, I went to Church and heard a sermon by L. B. S.

Monday, 9.—At 11 o'clock, the rain held up. Oh for clear weather once more! Zachariah Long-House died last Friday night of Cholera.

Tuesday, 10.—Went in company with Major Moseley to pay a visit to Major Cummins. Staid all night.

Wednesday, 11.—Came home. Warm, warm. Attended Council. M^r Moseley reported himself to the Council.

Thursday, 12.—Made the transfer of the effects of the sub-agency.

Friday, 13.—Went to town. A thunder storm. Came home and attended a caucus at the Church, at night.

Saturday, 14.—Cloudy all day. Have caught a violent cold. Am sick! Dr. Still holding his fanatical Quarterly Meeting.

Sunday, 15.—The sun rose hot and sultry. I am sick. Taking medicine. Dr. Hewitt moved to-day from the Wyandott Territory to give place to his successor. Sic transit gloria mundi.

Monday, 16—Cloudy and cool. Staid at home. Major Moseley, the new Sub-Agent spent the day with us and staid all night.

Tuesday, 17.—Went to the National Convention to nominate candidates for the Council, and [it] resulted thus:

J. Washington, majority, 5.

J. T. Charloe, “ 2, Abolitionist.

D. Young, “ 3, “

J. Van Meter, “ 1, “

Adjourned. Came home.

Wednesday, 18.—Jacob Charloe commenced ploughing my corn. Went to town. Rain, rain.

Thursday, 19.—Cloudy. Jacob resumed his work. Rain, rain. Oh! when is our rainy season to end.

Friday, 20.—Cloudy as usual. Went to town. Wrote to L. Smalley. Dr. Ridge called and spent the afternoon. Rain rather light to-day.

Saturday, 21—Cloudy. I fear we shall have the old song “Rain, rain.” Clear all day for a wonder.

Clear and prospect of a warm day. For the first time for nearly three months we had one clear day.

Sunday, 22.—Rain, rain. Remained cloudy all day.

Monday, 23.—At daylight raining. At sunrise cloudy. Wrote to the W. Mining Co. Rain, rain.

Tuesday, 24.—Rain, rain. Wrote the *Collard Letter*. At 2 o'clock, weather cleared up. The sun set clear.

Wednesday, 25.—Cloudy, and probably more rain. No rain to-day for a wonder. Warm.

Thursday, 26.—Went to Kansas. Rain, rain. Came home in the evening.

Friday, 27.—Rain, rain. Finished J. W.'s Communication to the Secretary of the Interior. At noon the weather cleared up.

Saturday, 28.—Clear for a wonder. Attended a special election of ferryman, vice D. Young, resigned; and George Steel was elected.

Sunday, 29.—Warm, dry, and clear till the middle of the day, then rain, rain. So we go.

Monday, 30.—Foggy and chilly. At 9 o'clock it cleared up, and [there is] a fair prospect of a clear day. M^{rs} W. and Sophia went to K.

The difference. A passionate and hasty person is generally honest. It is your cool, dissembling hypocrite of whom you should beware. There is no deceit about a bulldog. It's the sneaking cur that bites you when your back is turned. Beware I say of him who has *cant* in his Phiz. He's the rascal.

Jacob Charloe resumed working in the corn field. Clear all day.

Tuesday, 31.—Foggy morning at sunrise. Wrote to D. D. Mitchell, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, upon the subject of J. T. Walker's money. Cleaned out and pruned my fruit trees in my garden. Went to town. Met with Dr. Hewitt. Clear and pleasant all day.

AUGUST, 1849.

Wednesday, 1.—Cloudy at sunrise and quite cold. It was clear all day. Went to town to attend a meeting of a political character, but not many attending, it was adjourned.

Thursday, 2.—Clear and cool. Heavy dew. 10 o'clock, roasting hot. Mail day but [I] can't go for my share of it. Rode up in the country and bought a cow of Geo. D. Williams at \$13.00.

Friday, 3.—This day the President of the U. S. has recommended to be observed as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, in view of the destructive ravages of the Cholera¹ in our land. Came home and dined. In the evening, Rev. E. T. Peerey called and spent the evening. Glad to see him.

Saturday, 4.—Mailed a letter for Branch, Michigan. Warm. Thermometer 94°. Delaware camp meeting going on.

Sunday, 5.—Rain, rain. No meeting to-day. Cleared up, and warm.

Monday, 6.—At daylight, rain, rain. Finished a letter to M^r McKnight. Cloudy all day, but sultry. My hands did not come. Just as I expected. My curses upon them.

Tuesday, 7.—Cloudy and cool. Pleasant day. Went to town. Dined with M^{rs} H. Rain at night.

Wednesday, 8.—Fine day. Attended a political meeting at the schoolhouse. Polled the voters of the Nation. We shall re-elect the old Board of Chiefs. Wrote a Com. for the "Wyandott Tribune."

Thursday, 9.—Clear and fine morning. Went to Kansas. Got my mail. Hired Noah Zane to work a few days.

Friday, 10.—J. Coon, Jr., killed by Bob Cherokee.

¹ It swept over the country about the mouth of the Kansas River every year.

Noah and I sowed our *Turnips*. Hot day. Bargained with Peter Ballanger for a job of clearing, \$18.00.

Saturday, 11.—Cloudy. Clearing up. Warm day again. Warm and sultry day, too warm to work were I even inclined. So “I laid by.”

Sunday, 12.—Clear and warm. The dog star rages. Went to Church. J. T. Peerey held forth. Thermometer 100°! At six o'clock P. M. it became very cloudy. At 7, rain, and rained all night. 6 A. M., raining still.

Monday, 13.—Cleared up at 12. Warm and sultry. Attended the Council.

Tuesday, 14.—Pleasant day. Election to-day. The struggle is over and resulted in the election of

James Washington, Southern.

J. D. Brown, “

G. I. Clark, Abolitionist.

M. Mudeater.

So we have beaten the Abolition Party. So they may rest easy now.

Wednesday, 15.—Rain, rain. So we go, no end to rain. So we have no “*Green Corn Feast*” this year on account of the alarm created by the ravages of the Cholera. But perhaps it's best. Cloudy all day. Unsettled weather. Sun set clear.

Thursday, 16.—Damp and foggy morning. Went to Kansas; bought some provisions for my work hands. Peter Ballanger and Francois Tremble came to work on their job of clearing. Noah Zane commenced cutting the grass.

Friday, 17.—Cut and wind-rowed the hay. Hot day. Thermometer 100°. Tremble and Ballanger working at their job. *Laid off my flannel to-night.*

Saturday, 18.—N. Zane and I hauled in my hay and put it up in the stable loft. Thermometer 98°. Tho. H. Noble called and took dinner.

Sunday, 19.—Rain, rain. Cool. 8 o'clock, clearing up. Cloudy all day, slightly, and occasionally a sprinkle of rain.

Monday, 20.—Cold, damp and foggy morning. If a clear and pleasant day, I must go to Kansas.

Hiatus.

.

Friday, 31.—J. T. Peerey moved away, and Rev. M^r Russell took his place.

SEPTEMBER, 1849.

Saturday, 1.—Staid about home and read all day.

Sunday, 2.—Warm but pleasant. Had M^r Norton and M^r Mullikan to dinner. Went to Church in the evening.

Monday, 3.—Cloudy day. Staid at home all day.

Tuesday, 4.—Ditto, ditto.

Wednesday, 5.—Cloudy and a little rain. M^{rs} W. and Sophia went to K., notwithstanding.

Thursday, 6.—To-day the Wyandott camp meeting commences under favorable auspices, the weather being clear and cool.

Friday, 7.—Went in company with M^{rs} W. to Kansas and called upon Dr. Hewitt and dined. Bo't various necessary family articles and came home in the evening.

Saturday, 8.—Cold morning, but no frost. Went to the camp ground and heard a sermon from Rev. Thomas Johnson, decidedly the best Indian preacher I ever heard. Rainy night.

Sunday, 9.—Raining, pouring down in torrents. At 9 o'clock it cleared up. Warm. Went to camp meeting. Heard a sermon from M^r Johnston, then one from J. T. Peerey and another from M^r Scarritt. M^{rs} W. sick.

Monday, 10.—Clear and beautiful morning. Pleasant all day. M^{rs} W. continues sick. Taking medicines.

Tuesday, 11.—Clear and beautiful morning. M^{rs} W. better. Went to K. to get some stoves. M^r G. arrived to pay a visit.

Wednesday, 12.—Beautiful morning. Fall weather. Miss Matilda Chick arrived.

Thursday, 13.—Warm day. Went to K. for my mail.

Friday, 14.—Warm. Thermometer 95°.

Saturday, 15.—Cut my knee with an axe.

Sunday, 16.—Staid at home. Warm day.

Monday, 17.—Preparing for a party. Busy all day.

Tuesday, 18.—At half past 3 o'clock P. M., William Gilmore of Independence and Martha R. Walker were married.

Wednesday, 19.—The wedding party set out for Independence. Went to Kansas. Come home in the evening.

Thursday, 20.—Cloudy all day. Rode out to town and country. Came home and staid at home.

Friday, 21.—Cloudy. W. C. Graham paid us a visit. Warm afternoon. Thermometer 95°. A shower in the night.

Saturday, 22.—Clear and beautiful morning.

So ends my poor Journal, this the 22d day of September, A. D., 1849. It is a brief record of my unimportant doings, showing dimly how I have spent my time.

W. WALKER.

THE JOURNALS
OF
WILLIAM WALKER
PROVISIONAL GOVERNOR
OF
NEBRASKA TERRITORY

SECOND BOOK

From September 22, 1849, to June 25, 1854

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT IN THE COLLECTION OF
WILLIAM E. CONNELLEY

THE
JOURNALS OF WILLIAM WALKER,

PROVISIONAL GOVERNOR OF NEBRASKA TERRITORY.

SECOND BOOK.¹

From September 22, 1849, to June 25, 1854.

NOVEMBER, 1849.

Diary—Hiatus from September 22, 1849, till

Friday, 30.—This day I received the book on which I am now writing, which was kindly sent to me by Brother Joel from St. Louis. Rev. Thomas A. Green from Ohio arrived here on the 20th inst., who is traveling for his health.

DECEMBER, 1849.

Saturday, 1.—M^r Green set out with Rev. B. H. Russel to Platte.

Sunday, 2.—Went to Kansas. A "Bogus" manufacturer [was] arrested having \$78. of the coin in his possession. He was acquitted as such characters generally are, and escaped unwhipt.

Wednesday, 12.—Rented my Store House to a M^r French of Independence, at \$12. pr month. Possession to be given when certain repairs are made.

Thursday, 13.—Made arrangements for the repairs and

¹ On account of lack of space in this volume, it was necessary to omit very much from the second book of Governor Walker's Journals.

came home. But the infamous villain and his more infamous tool, Ross, swindled me out of the rent.

Thursday, 20.—Went to attend a special session of the Council.

Sunday 23.—Went to church. Sermon by Mr. Stateler. He and his lady with M^r Scarritt came home with us and dined.

Monday, 24.—Employed John Big-Sinew and his cousin to cut wood. Issued License for the marriage of Samuel Big-Sinew to a Miss Clarrissa Carpenter.¹

JANUARY, 1850.

Wednesday, 23.—Hauled wood all day and at night went to Capt. Bullhead's.² Came home in the rain.

Monday, 28.—Attended a night session of the Council

¹ The following is a copy of the license, together with the return of the minister endorsed thereon. I obtained the original in the Indian Territory:

"WYANDOTT TERRITORY Dec 24, 1849.

"Permission is hereby granted to any clergyman, magistrate or any person duly authorized to solemnize the rites of matrimony, to unite by marriage Samuel Bigsinew to Clarissa Carpenter and due return make of the same to this office within thirty days. Given under my hand and seal day and date above written.

(Signed) "WM. WALKER,

"Clerk to the Council, pro tem.

"This is to Certify that I joined together in matrimony Mr. Samuel Bigsinew and Miss Clarissa Carpenter at the home of Isaac Zane on the 25th of Dec 1849

(Signed) "B. H. RUSSELL

"Minister of the Gospel

"Returned for Record Dec 26 1849"

² Captain Bull-Head belonged to the Porcupine Clan of the Wyandots. He had two Wyandot names. The first was Ohn-doo'-tooh, the meaning of which is lost. The second was Stih-yeh'-stah, and means "carrying bark," that is, as the porcupine carries in his mouth the bark which he strips from the northern hemlock for his food. Captain Bull-Head was spoken of as the only full-blood Wyandot that came West with the tribe, but he was not a full-blood. He was of the purest blood of any of the tribe, but he was part French. There was not a single full-blood in the Wyandot Nation in the West. The last full-blood Wyandot died in Canada about the year 1820. His name was Yah-nyah'-meh-deh.

Captain Bull-Head was a taciturn, morose man. He served in the British army in the war of 1812. He carried with him always a peculiar knife with a blade about four inches wide and twelve or fifteen inches long. This knife he carried in a brass scabbard which was swung over his right shoulder and under his left arm by a brass chain. He was a man of great intelligence and well informed in the history and traditions of his people. Governor Walker often consulted him on these subjects. He died in Wyandotte County, Kansas.

and made the necessary preparation for the National Convention which was to meet the next day.

Tuesday, 29.—The National Convention met and I was requested to act as Chairman. The Laws enacted by the Legislative Committee were proclaimed—the appropriation bill for this year was reported. The question of our emigration to Min[n]esota¹ was submitted and after a warm discussion the vote was taken and resulted, for emigration 5 votes. Against, 72. The question of dissolving the fund from which we draw our annuity was next submitted and warmly debated till sun set, when, on motion of Esq. Gray Eyes it was postponed till next Tuesday. The convention adj'd.

FEBRUARY, 1850.

Friday, 8.—Clear and frosty morning. A warm spring day. Wrote to J. Walker. Attended the special session of the Council. Discharged Geo. Coke from Jail, [he] having served out his twelve months imprisonment. The Council addressed a comⁿ to the Deputation at Washington. After doing up sundry things, adjourned. I came home “an hungered” and dined.

Friday, 22.—Clear and cold morning. M^{rs} W. went to K. M^r H. M. Northrup² called to-day. He reports that

¹ The Wyandots had an extensive and intimate acquaintance with the Northern tribes and this made some of the tribe wish to go North. The discussion of the possibility of their going to Minnesota did not cease until after Tauromee secured the present Reservation from the Senecas in the Indian Territory.

² Hiram Milton Northrup, only son of Andrus Bishop and Martha (McHenry) Northrup, was born in Olean, Cattaraugus County, New York, June 4, 1818. He was a man of energy and enterprise. His first work towards self-support was as a clerk in a store; then he taught a district school. He went to Cincinnati, Ohio, and engaged in boat-building. From there he went to some point in Alabama and engaged in the mercantile business, and failed. From Alabama he came to Westport, Mo., and engaged in the Santa Fe trade, and was successful. Here he became acquainted with the Wyandots. He paid court “with matrimonial intentions” to one of their best looking girls, Margaret Clark, daughter of Thomas Clark, who was the brother of George I. Clark, and a grandson of Chief Adam Brown. Miss Clark could speak but little English and the courtship had to be carried on by aid of interpreters, and old Wyandots relate many amusing incidents connected with it. They were married at the Methodist Church on the banks of Jersey Creek, November 27, 1845. Mr. Northrup's business increased. He

great preparations are making at the "Dutch Reformed Church,"—i. e., the "Union Hotel" to celebrate the advent of the father of his country, by a 'Birth night Ball.' "*Vive la Bagatelle!*"

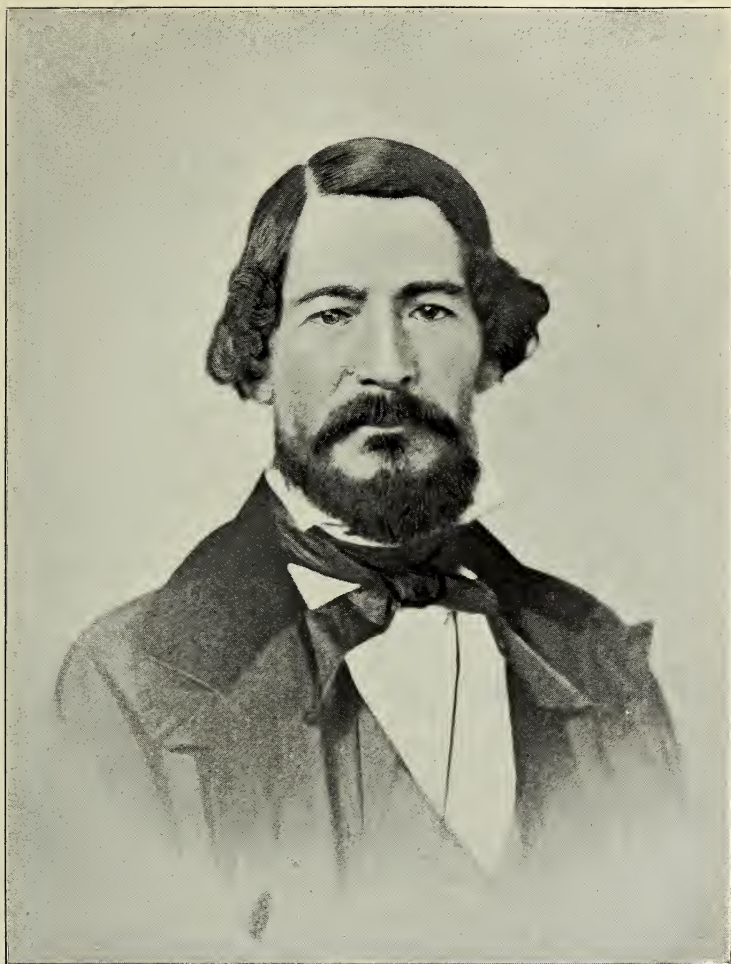
Saturday, 23.—*Ah! pauvre moi!* I am again visited with that pest of this country, sore eyes. It is nearly a year ago since I was first attacked, and [I] was blind for three months and recovered, and now here I have it again in full fruition.

Monday, 25.—Beautiful spring morning. Went to town and staid till evening. Transacted some public business. Proved that the United States stole James Big-Tree's horse.

Tuesday, 26.—We have heard of the *finale* of the great Birth-night Ball at the "Dutch Reformed Church." It appears to have been a failure. The Ladies having taken umbrage at the ungallant conduct of the Managers, refused to honor them with their presence. Thereupon, the Landlord and Managers got drunk—*most royally so*, in order to be *avenged on* the refractory ladies. The Landlord to show his *indignation*, made a perfect *mash* of the supper table and all the good things that were placed thereon. Even the "*Saur Kraut*" was not spared. It is supposed the dapper *Land-*

had a partner and the firm was Northrup & Chick. Joel Walker was associated with Northrup & Chick for some time, and the firm was Walker, Northrup & Chick. Northrup & Chick went to New York and established a banking house, which was prosperous until the panic of 1873, when it failed. Mr. Northrup returned to Wyandotte, Kansas, and established the banking house of Northrup & Son. The large tract of land allotted to Mr. Northrup by the Wyandots was in the heart of what is now Kansas City, Kansas, and its increase in value caused by the growth of Kansas City, made him more than a millionaire. He died March 22, 1893. The panic of that year caused the failure of his bank and this involved his estate, and much litigation followed which almost consumed the great estate he left. He was a kind-hearted and charitable man and gave away thousands of dollars to help the poor, especially poor Wyandots. He was utterly incapable of resisting any reasonable appeal of a charity that had merit. He was one of the founders of Kansas City, Mo., and her great commerce has its foundations in his efforts. He was a pioneer, merchant, trader, and banker. His history is the history of the success of Kansas City, which, as a great mart, includes all the cities about the mouth of the Kansas River.

Of his marriage to Margaret Clark (who was born August 28, 1828, and died June 28, 1887) were born: 1. Milton, born October 5, 1846; 2. Andrus Bishop, born April 27, 1849, died January 7, 1892; 3. Thomas Clark, born December 27, 1851, died October 10, 1876; 4. McHenry, born November 5, 1854, died December 1, 1857.



MATTHEW R. WALKER. ■

lady, was "brimful of wrath and cabbage" at the conduct of her hopeful husband, boxed his ears and sent him to bed.

MARCH, 1850.

Thursday, 7.—Clear, frosty morning. Warm day.

I am anxious to get my mail; but what good will it do me when I am so nearly blind as to be unable to read?¹

Tuesday, 12.—We had a fair specimen of a Missouri squall last night.

"The wind blew as 'twad blawn her last;
The rattling show'rs rose on the blast;
The speedy gleams the darkness swallow'd.
Loud, deep and long the thunder bellow'd;
That night, a child might understand,
The de'il had business on his hand."

Cloudy, but pleasant. To-day the Council meets to attend to the important affairs of State.

Came home from the Council after dark, hungry and fatigued, after having disposed of various important State affairs, and sent a fellow to the Calaboose for 24 hours for disturbing a religious meeting.

Wednesday, 13.—High winds all night. Bright and clear morning.

Went to town to bring home a runaway Cow; but Oh! the trouble and vexation I encountered! After much tribulation I succeeded in getting her home. She was so poor and squalid that, "*the lowing of the kine*" was not heard by the neighbors living on the road. This is the cow Dr. Hewitt rated at \$25. She is hardly worth as many cents.

Warm and pleasant day, but windy.

Rec'd no mail from the East. A great dearth of news. We know no more of the doings of our wise and patriotic

¹ Many of the Wyandots suffered from inflammation of the eyes when they came West. Old Wyandots often speak of it. They attributed the disease to the sandy soil and the high winds—sandstorms. Many of them lost their sight entirely. The Council gave pensions to the old people that became blind.

Congress than if they were in session in the palace of Chang Chaufoo, in China.¹

Friday, 15.—Last night Miss Maria Monk came in glad possession of an interesting little Monk. The event had been looked for with much interest. It is a beautiful specimen of the horned breed, having upon its body all the varied colors of the Rainbow. Who the favored father of this young kine may be, it is hard to conjecture; and Maria pertinaciously refuses to tell. Albeit, she, like her great namesake of Hotel Dieu memory, was never considered as chaste as a vestal.

Enlarged my meadow and hauled some more wood.

Sunday, 17.—“*St. Patrick's day in the morning.*” Cloudy and cold. Went to Church and heard a sermon from Rev. M^r Jameison. A good performance. Went to church in the evening and interpreted a sermon for M^r Stateler.

Monday, 18.—Clear, cold and frosty morning. Prospect of a warm and pleasant day.

Went to Kansas. Learned that our Missouri boys were doing well in “Refining” the dust; but at the same time discouraged their friends from the “Experiment” of “digging.”²

APRIL, 1850.

Monday, 8.—M^{rs} W. gone to *Kawzas*.³ Cholera at St. Joseph. So, it seems we are to be visited with that scourge of the human race, again this season.

Thursday, 11.—Finished my experiment in Budding fruit

¹ One of the inconveniences of the country in those days was the lack of mail facilities. Governor Walker wished to know what was transpiring, and complains bitterly of the inefficient services rendered by the mail contractors. And now the uniformed mail deliverer passes the site of his home two or three times each day and brings the mail to the door!

² In the gold fields of California.

³ One of the ways of writing *Kansas*; it more nearly represents the pronunciation of the name as used by the Kaw Indians than the spelling of the present, but it is no longer used.

trees, having set 40 buds, all of the apple. Ploughed my potato patch. One of the Standingstones burned to death last night near Kansas, in a drunken frolic. Major Moseley returned from St. Louis to-day.

Saturday, 13.—Cold windy morning: wind from the North.

Went to Kansas to attend to some business, meantime the Steamer "Pride of the West" landed well laden with California emigrants; all intent upon their pursuit of "filthy lucre"—strange as it may appear, yet it is nevertheless true that, notwithstanding the admonition of the pious Apostle to beware of this "Root of all evil," yet "Saint and sinner" are eagerly and "hot foot" in pursuit of it. Alas! for the degeneracy of the times!

Sunday, 14.—Cold and windy morning. Saddled up *Cato* and rode out a half mile and back.

I have been so often perplexed, when speaking of the "Southampton insurrection," to recall the name of the leader, that I now record his name, NAT TURNER. He was a preacher. A superstitious enthusiast.

MAY, 1850.

Tuesday, 14.—This is the day the Wyandott Convention adjourned to. At 12 o'clock, meridian, the president called the Convention to order and the discussion was resumed and continued with much animation till five o'clock when the vote was called for loudly. M. R. Walker and Silas Armstrong¹ were appointed tellers. The vote stood,

¹ Silas Armstrong, the eldest son of Robert and Sarah (Zane) Armstrong, was born June 3, 1810. He was a man of enterprise and capable of managing large affairs. He was the energetic manager of the removal of the Wyandots to the West. He was a merchant, saw-mill owner and operator, land speculator and farmer; and successful in all these pursuits. His home was near the intersection of Fifth Street and Minnesota avenue, Kansas City, Kan.

Of his marriage, October 8, 1832, with Sarah Preston (who was born in 1811), were born: 1. Tabitha, born February 6, 1834, married E. T. Vedder, August 5, 1856; Vedder died in January, 1867; married Seymour Thomas (who was born in New York in 1840),

for the treaty, 63. Against it 20. Seven or eight not voting. Carried.

Wednesday, 15.—This day Mr Abelard Guthrie and Company set [out] for California. Health and success attend them.

Tuesday, 21.—Attended the session of the Council, made out the pay roll. Confirmed the right of H. M. Northrup to citizenship. Mrs Hannah Zane,¹ late of Ohio, and Mrs Nancy Garrett² were also admitted. George Wright³

in 1870; 2. Robert, born August 19, 1835, drowned in the Kansas River, July 15, 1858; 3. Caroline, born in December, 1837; 4. Winfield Scott, born December 1, 1840; 5. Silas, born February 1, 1842. Sarah (Preston) Armstrong died February 9, 1842.

Silas Armstrong and Zelinda M. Hunter (who was born December 3, 1820), were married—(have not been able to learn the date). Of this marriage were born: 1. Catherine, born June 15, 1843, married — Shaffenberg; 2. Duncin, born January 23, 1849, died February 22, 1850; 3. Minarrh C., born July 12, 1846; 4. McIntyre, born July 15, 1852; 5. Elizabeth U., born November 27, 1854; 6. Antoinette, born February 15, 1858, married T. B. Barnes, died October 2, 1882; 7. Naomi, born August 10, 1861. Zelinda M. Armstrong died February 10, 1883. Silas Armstrong died December 14, 1865. He is buried in Huron Place Cemetery. The granite monument over his grave is the best in that historic burial ground. The following is copied from its northeast face:

(Figure of Ark and Anchor.)

Silas Armstrong
Died December 14, 1865.
Aged 55 ys 11 Mos 11 Ds.
The Pioneer of the Wyandott
Indians To The Kansas Valley
In 1842. The Leading Man and
Constant Friend of The Indians
A Devout Christian and Good Mason
He Leaves The Craft on Earth and
Goes With Joy to the Great Architect.

I once asked S. S. Sharp to describe the funeral of Silas Armstrong. He replied: "I never saw before nor since such a funeral as that. Many white people were present and a thousand Indians were there, all crying at the same time."

¹ She was the widow of Isaac Zane. Born in Virginia. She is buried in Huron Place Cemetery. Died November 14, 1886, aged 92 years.

² Widow of George Garrett; Governor Walker's sister.

³ A most remarkable man of great intelligence. He lives on Sycamore Creek in the Wyandot Reserve, near Seneca, Mo., where he settled in 1856. His grandmother was captured by the French in Guinea, Africa. She and other children were playing about the outskirts of a negro village. Suddenly the cry was raised that denoted an attack. The children fled, but this little girl was unable to hold way with the larger ones. She was but six years old, and very small for that age. She was captured by the pursuers, who proved to be a party of French slavers. They carried her to the Martinique Islands, where they kept her for some time. Here there were many other negroes. After some time she was placed on board a ship which was loaded with her people. Sails were set and the vessel stood out to sea. None of the negroes had any idea of their ul-

and Lewis Clark's names were placed upon the pay roll, but with the understanding that they are *not*, by this act, acknowledged as having equal rights with the others. Their relative position to be defined when the treaty goes into effect.

Saturday, 25.—Excessively warm. Closed the Annuity payment to-day. Glad of it. Vexatious and perplexing. This may be the last semi-Annuity we will receive from the United States, for, if the President and Senate should confirm our treaty it will certainly be the last. As after that event we Wyandotts will become citizens of *Uncle Sam's States*. A truly *new era* in the history of the Wyandott Nation.

Sunday, 26.—Cloudy and at short intervals, scattering drops of rain. The air pure and bracing. Wrote a letter to Governor King upon the subject of a scamp of an alien holding the office of Justice of the Peace in C—— County.

timate destination. When the ship had been at sea a few days it was attacked by the English and captured. The English ship was a slave cruiser and her crew put the French to the sword. Then they carried the negroes to America. At Philadelphia they sold Wright's grandmother to a Delaware Indian.

She was both slave and wife to the Delaware. Wright's mother was born to her while she was the wife and chattel of the Indian. Some time during the War of the Revolution this Delaware sold his slave and her daughter to a Wyandot Chief named Rontondee or Warpole. (Rohn'-tohn-deh signifies round in form like a tree trunk.) In the year 1800 they were adopted by the Wyandots. Soon after the adoption the daughter was married to a St. Regis Seneca, Wright's father.

Wright remembers his grandmother well. He heard her often tell the foregoing account of her life. He was born at Upper Sandusky, March 20, 1812. His hair is long and straight, and somewhat gray; he has a long straight beard. In feature he resembles a Hindoo. His health is good but he is almost blind. He has the negro's love for music and plays on a violin which he has owned for fifty years.

Wright came to Wyandotte County, Kansas, from Upper Sandusky, in 1850. In 1856 he went to the Senecas in the Indian Territory and settled on Sycamore Creek, where he now lives. This part of the Seneca land was afterwards sold to the Wyandots. Wright was then received by the Wyandots and given an allotment of 160 acres of land, which includes his home. He was the official interpreter of the United States for the Senecas, and also for the Shawnees, for sixteen years. He speaks perfect Wyandot, Shawnee, and Seneca. His English is good, much better than is generally spoken by men in his station. His mind is vigorous and his ideas clear and orderly. His discourse is logical, and well arranged. He is a ready speaker and does not hesitate for words.

JUNE, 1850.

Sunday, 2.—Just heard of the death of Robert Lattimore in California. “ALAS! POOR YORRICK!” thou art done with thy *games of chance*. It is no longer thy “deal”: thou hast turned up thy last *trump*, and it is greatly to be feared thou hast been *euchered* at last. Oh Hoyle! one of thy devotees has “shuffled off this mortal coil.”

Tuesday, 4.—Just heard of an onslaught by the Pawnees upon the Pottowattomies in which the latter repulsed their assailants with the death of their leader. It will end here—there will be no more of it hereafter.

No mail! the usual excuse, “*the Blue is up*.” Yes, and so is Turkey Creek; but horsemen and pedestrians can pass and repass “without let or hindrance.” But “the Blue is up” and the mail contractor on dry land. He is terribly diseased with the Hydrophobia, and has a great dread of the waters of “the Blue.” I wish he were blue himself and in the midst of his blueness thrown into the Blue.

Pretty fair prospect of some more rain. Let it come and welcome. 'Twill be a blessing, not in disguise, but in its proper guise. Attended the session of the Council. A beautiful shower came on. Came home drenched. All right. A little more of the same kind.

Friday, 7.—Just learned that Capt. Ketchum, the Chief of the Delawares, had informed our Chief that a band of Pawnees had attacked the Pottowattomies and were repulsed and that one had been captured and six scalps had been found in his possession, supposed to have been taken from some California emigrants.¹

Tuesday, 11.—Attended Council. A committee appointed by a meeting of the people called upon the Council re-

¹ The Pawnees hung upon the trail of the caravans bound for California. Any weak party was almost sure to be attacked.

questing a convention to consider whether the Wyandotts coming from Ohio are to be received as equal participants in the provisions of the late treaty.¹ The Council agreed to the request and fixed upon next Tuesday as the day of meeting.

Saturday, 15.—Attended a National Council called by the Chief upon the claim of several Ohio Wyandotts. After an exciting discussion the whole matter was adjourned till after the ratification of the treaty. M^r Z. McColloch, one of the claimants, being much *chagrined* at the result. He called in the evening at my house and asked the loan of the treaty in order to copy some portions of it, but I refer'd him to the Council. The principal Chief and J. Walker refused it, on the ground that it would be a violation of the injunction of secrecy, the President and Senate not having acted upon it yet. So M^r McColloch left—disappointed and mortified.

Sunday, 23.—Called upon the Major's family. Read his newspapers. In the St. Louis Republican an article appeared over the signature of 'Soo-no-ree-zhue' attacking the Bishops of the M. E. Church, South, and the Church generally.—A scurrilous thing. I instantly responded, over the signature of 'CATHOLIC.'²

Friday, 28.—Went to Kansas with the team for some provisions. Had much difficulty in crossing Turkey Creek.³ One death in Kansas from Cholera—M^r Walrond's black boy, Arch. Got home safe with my freight.

JULY, 1850.

Friday, 5.—M^r Tacket came over after M^r Russel to at-

¹ A considerable number of Wyandots remained in Ohio, and never removed West.

² Only another incident in the Church division and the strife and bitterness engendered by it.

³ See former notes stating that Turkey Creek emptied into the Missouri River at that time.

tend the dying moments of Dr. Fulton, who was taken with that fell destroyer, Cholera [at] 3 o'clock this morning.

M^r R. returned and reported the Dr. dying. Therm. 96°. [Dr. F.] Died at 12 M. and was buried at 5 P. M.

Saturday, 6.—Prospect of another warm day. Clear. The sun looks angry and lurid. Called upon Major Moseley's family and found M^{rs} M. sick—prepared some medicines.

The Cholera has caused some of the citizens of Kansas to flee. This is folly.

Monday, 15.—Just heard of the death of President Taylor, [he] having died of Cholera on the 11th inst. Can this be true?

To-day the Annual nominations for principal Chief and members of the Council took place:

James Washington [against]	Tauroomee,	was nominated.
G. I. Clark	“ J. T. Charloe,	“ “
J. D. Brown	“ J. W. Gray Eyes,	“ “
M. Mudeater	“ D. Young,	“ “

G. I. Clark was then nominated for Principal Chief to run against F. A. Hicks. James Rankin was then nominated to oppose J. T. Charloe.

The nominations having been completed, the Convention adjourned.

Thursday, 18.—Rose at daylight, had an early breakfast, geared up the team, loaded up the wagon with all the necessary “outfit,” such as provisions, bedding, marquee, etc., and at 7 o'clock our folks set out for the Eutaw Springs, under the conduct of Samuel Rankin. I accompanied them as far as Kansas. A pleasant journey to them.

Friday, 19.—Cut out a nearer road to town. 2 o'clock P. M. 92°.

Much speculation as to the author of “Catholic” in the Missouri Republican.

Bad news. Just heard that Geo. Armstrong, Tall Charles and several others had returned from the Eutau Springs, and they report that the springs were *dried up*—that country having suffered the parching influence of a rigorous drought. So our folks will have their journey for naught.

Saturday, 20.—Clear and warm. Went to Kansas, and on my way found the ferry boat at Turkey Creek sunk. After hard labor (and I bearing the principal part) we succeeded in getting her afloat: then commenced the process of bailing with an old tin Kittle with as many holes as it had seen years and their name was “Legion.”

Tuesday, 23.—Therm. 98°. In the evening a part of our folks returned from the Eutau Springs, (as already stated, they were dried up,) leaving M^r Gilmore and Martha with M^r Dickson to ruralize in the cold water Grove.

AUGUST, 1850.

Tuesday, 13.—To-day the Wyandott National election comes off.

The result of the National election :

James Washington's majority.....	21
James Rankin's “	4
J. W. Gray Eyes' “	5
M. Mudeater's “	21
For Principal Chief, G. I. Clark's majority...	31

The Legislative Committee for this year stands thus :

J. M. Armstrong, John Arms, M. R. Walker, H. M. Northrup and William Walker. Therm. 108°.

To-day Jacob Warpole was found near F. Tremble's having severe cuts and bruises on his head, in an insensible state. So much for the sports of the Circus.

Wednesday, 14.—Jacob Warpole¹ died of his wounds this

¹ Son of Rontondee or Warpole, known as Henry Warpole. Rontondee is buried in Huron Place Cemetery. He died November 17, 1843, aged 68 years. He was the son

morning. Peter Vieu, being suspected as the murderer, a warrant was issued, on the affidavit of J. W. Gray Eyes and he was arrested and the examining trial set for Friday.

Thursday, 15.—Went to Kansas to hunt up testimony in the murder case. Came home somewhat indisposed.

Friday, 16.—Went to Kansas again in company with Major Moseley and the Council to attend the trial of Peter Vieu. He had employed Col. R. C. Smart to defend him and the Council employed M^r Hereford to prosecute. After the examination of a large number of witnesses, the defendant was discharged. Came home late in the evening.

Sunday, 25.—Went to church. M^r Shaler having no interpreter, Deacon Hicks held forth in an impressive address.

Tuesday, 27.—Cloudy and cool. Ground the scythe and set the old truant to work. Went to the Council and heard the inaugural address of Geo I. Clark, the Principal Chief. The address was appropriate and marked with sound political principles; but there was a barrenness and jejuneness in his language, unsuited to the occasion.

OCTOBER, 1850.

Tuesday, 22.—Went to town. M^{rs} W. went to Kansas and got my mail.

The Wyandott Treaty ratified with various amendments and alterations, but the main and vital part is there. All we wanted.¹

The Sheriff arrested Boyd Peacock for stealing goods

of the famous Chief Rontondee. When Wyandott City was first platted a street was named Warpole street in his honor, but the City Council, composed of men ignorant of the City's history, changed it into something else. The old name should be restored.

¹ See Revision of Indian Treaties, 1021. It cost the Wyandots almost \$40,000 for an attorney to make the treaty. The money was paid to one Reed. There was bad management somewhere, for the Government owed the money obtained by the treaty, and would have paid it without cost to the Wyandots. There was much dissatisfaction in the tribe about the amount of this fee, and some talk about it in Congress, but the scoundrel got safely away with his money.

from G. B. Dameron, and committed to Jail, to be surrendered to the officers of the State.

NOVEMBER, 1850.

Saturday, 2.—Went to Kansas to attend a Law suit, but had no trial owing to informality in my papers. "I'll pick my flint and try again."¹

Friday, 8.—Our Wyandotts are traveling off to New Madrid to hunt. "The ruling passion strong in death."

Saturday, 23.—Clear frosty morning. Engaged in making out the Wyandott Pay Roll, preparatory to the annuity payment.

Mr James H. Forsythe of Maumee, Ohio, accompanied by Joel Walker, called upon me. He is direct from Washington. He made explanation in regard to the ratification of only a part of our treaty with the Gov't. The officers of the Indian Department, and especially the Indian Agents and Sub-Agents in the West, made a general but covert and insidious attack upon it. It was "gall and wormwood" to them. "Cause why?" Their bread and butter was in imminent peril. For their own special benefit the Indians must be kept *in statu quo*.²

Sunday, 8.—Had nothing from the Post office since last Monday—a dearth of news. This afternoon P. D. Clark³ came and dined with us—all the company we have had to-day.

Tuesday, 10.—At night I received a note from J. M.

¹ An expression of the old-time hunters when the flints in their gun-locks failed to strike fire.

² The same thing holds to this time. In treaty making the interests of the agents and other hangers-on are often better guarded than those of the Indians.

³ Author of the "The Traditional History of the Wyandots." He was a brother to George I. Clark, and a grandson of Chief Adam Brown. His name was Peter Dooyentate Clarke. The final *e* was always used in writing *Clarke* by most members of this family. His book was published at Toronto, Canada, in 1870. It is unreliable in its historical statements and conclusions, but on habits, customs, and usages of the Wyandots, and their traditions, it is generally authentic. "Toronto" is derived from the Wyandot word "Toh-roohn'-tooh," meaning "plenty" or "abundance."

Armstrong informing me that the Legislative Committee was required to meet on to-morrow, Wednesday, the 11th.

Wednesday, 11.—The Committee met and was organized and rec'd a Message from the Principal Chief. Proceeded to business, and adjourned at 4 o'clock P. M.

Thursday, 12.—Went to attend the session of the Legislative Committee. Passed an Act regulating the National ferry for the year '51. Several bills were introduced, read the first time and laid upon the table.

Windy and tempestuous. This day the Wyandott Chiefs paid the Delawares their instalment due this year.

Tuesday, 17.—To-day the Council and Legislative Committee meet in joint session to elect a Ferryman for the year 1851. Lame and decrepit as I am, I am compelled to do my own work—cut wood, make fires, and feed my stock. I cannot get one of our vagabonds to work for me, no difference how extravagant may be the wages I offer.

Judge Ewing and son called upon us, and [we] had a long chat upon public business.

Went to town. The Legislative Committee and Council met in joint meeting and proceeded to the election of a Ferryman, when Isaac Brown was declared duly elected. Came home much pained with my Rheumatism in my ankle.

Thursday, 19.—Harriet went to Major Moseley's and bro't me some medicines. Expecting M^r Northrup to send me a sack of Flour to-day according to arrangements. M. R. W. informs me that he sent over a quantity to divers persons on this side but none for me. My curses and execrations upon the little Polliwog! There is no dependence to be placed in him. He well knows that I am crippled and helpless.

Friday, 20.—Clear frosty morning. Prospect of a fair and pleasant [day]. Heard of a sack of Flour lying in the Ferry Boat. Sent for it by Jacob Charloe, whether it was mine or not. He and Isaac Muskrat cut and hauled in a quantity of wood.

Saturday, 21.—Clear, but warm. Jacob Charloe and [Isaac] Muskrat came and butchered a hog.

FEBRUARY, 1851.

From this day [Sat., Dec. 28th, 1850] till now I have been sorely afflicted with Rheumatism and Neuralgia. The Complaint in my head affecting my eyes to such a degree as to cause almost total blindness. This will account for the long hiatus in my Journal.

During all this time, I was unable to read or write, in consequence of the Neuralgia affecting my sight. This was hard on me—depending upon others to read for my amusement. But I have now in some degree recovered my sight.

Saturday, 8.—The Nation convened to-day upon the subject of sending a deputation to Washington City on business connected with our late treaty with the Gov't: Geo. I. Clark and Joel Walker are the delegates, John W. Gray Eyes having been dropped.

Monday, 17.—*An incident.* Just learned that John Big-Sinew and his half brother, Smith Nichols, while riding at full speed, returning from the Northern meeting, both on one horse, were thrown against a tree and seriously injured.

Tuesday, 18.—The Kansas river has about run dry; there not being water enough to float the ferry boat, and consequently no ferrying.—In the evening learned that the ferry was now *passable*.

Saturday, 22.—Rev. B. H. Russell and M^r Dofflemeyer¹ called and staid an half an hour.

¹ Daniel Dofflemeyer. Governor Walker wrote the name in different ways—often Dufflemeyer. His descendants live in Kansas City, Mo., "to this day." I find the following in the History of Jackson County, Missouri, page 762:

"Rev. Daniel Dofflemeyer was born in Rockingham county, Virginia, August 21, 1813, and resided there until the age of nineteen years. Then removed to Morgan county, Illinois, arriving April 1st, and there lived until the autumn of 1836. From this place he went to Van Buren county, then a territory, locating on a point near Bentonsport, where he remained until 1846. During this time, in 1842, his wife died, leaving four children, two of whom are living. In the spring of 1846 took up his residence

There is to be a celebration to-day in Kansas by the Masons, Odd Fellows and Sons of Temperance.

Tuesday, 25.—Cloudy and windy. Went to James Big-Tree's and appointed him a member of the Legislative Com. to supply the vacancy caused by the absence of J. M. Armstrong.

Thursday, 27.—Wrote a Communication (dated 24th) to Cist, for the Advertiser, upon Reminiscences of Olden times.

Friday, 28.—The Legislative Committee, by appointment, is to meet to-day. Went to meet the Committee, but Alas! not one [other] member appeared. Saw, for the first time, W. Linville, since his return from California.

MARCH, 1851.

Monday, 3.—To-night at 12 o'clock Congress has to adjourn *sine die*. I do not think wisdom and patriotism will die with this, 31st Congress. Tho' it numbers among its members some valuable men, still there is a great deal of offal, of *fungi*. Such men as Root and Giddings of Ohio, Wilmot of Penna. and such ilk. But they have had their 'day,' and having had the one which providence and the current of public affairs have allotted them, they must now sink down to the level their deeds, good, or bad, has assigned them. "*Ainse valle monde*."

in Fayette, Howard county, Mo., remaining until the fall of 1848, when he came to Kansas City. From here went to Shawnee Mission, at the same time receiving instruction from Rev. Nathan Scarritt, of the High School. This he continued until May 17th following, in the meantime, being employed as a carpenter, to oversee and do the general repairing about the institution. His next move was to California, engaged in mining, there remaining until June, 1850, when he returned to the mission. In 1851 was licensed to preach, and was sent to Wyandott Mission, where he served in connection with Rev. Scarritt, three nations, Wyandotts, Delawares and Shawnees, for a period of one year. After this, was given exclusive control of the Wyandott Mission but left Wyandott, and went to Scaine, Mississippi, being interested to have settlements begin in Kansas. In 1856 went to survey a claim, when he came in contact with Jim Lane, who set up the right to the claim. After this Mr. D. returned to Scaine, Mississippi, with his family, and in 1857 settled permanently in Kansas City. His second marriage occurred June 8, 1851, to Miss Virginia T., daughter of P. Ellington, a native of Virginia. He was among the first settlers of Platte county, Mo. By this union the family consists of six children: John T., Alice, Thomas J., Louis E., Virginia L., and Charlie."

Tuesday, 4.—Last evening a party from the Institution, Messrs. Dofflemeyer and Huffaker, and Miss Hester Russel, came and staid all night. The latter gentleman by some mishap got into the Kansas River and had the benefit of a cold bath.

Went to town to attend the session of the Council, but to my astonishment no one [was] there except the Sheriff who informed me that they imitated the 31st Congress adjourning *sine die*.—So, I adjourned also.

Wednesday, 5.—This day I complete my half century.—Fifty years old to-day; and I now enter upon my fifty first year. Dull day at [any] rate—depressed in spirit. Wrote to Joel Walker at Washington. The Highland Mary went up the river to-day.

Friday, 7.—Sent up a note to F. Cotter demanding the town Plat of Wyandott City,¹ by Thos. Coon-Hawk. M^{rs} W. and Sophia gone on a visit to M^{rs} Moseley's. Warm and pleasant day. Therm. at Temperate, at 2 P. M.

A Wyandott social Levee held at the Council house to-night.

Saturday, 8.—Yesterday Johnny O'Bludgeon unfortunately received a severe bruise or contusion upon his foot. "Och!" said he, "but I am murther'd entirely." Screwing his face up most ruefully, [he] exclaimed, "Be me troth and I'm ruined,—sure and it's I that am hurted."

Friday, 14.—Writing an Indian story for Cist's Advertiser.

Sunday, 16.—I learn that our California men intend to swindle us out of our shares.

Monday, 17.—St. Patrick's day.

At daylight M^r Graham set out to invite my California substitute, W. Lynville, and his own, Ira Hunter, to come

¹ This is another paper that I have searched for unsuccessfully for many years. The lots were about an acre in extent.

over to my house for a settlement. At 1 o'clock they arrived.

After some Conversation with them, we discovered that it was their determination to play the villian. Though the understanding and bargain was, when they were outfitted, that on their return they were to divide with us equally, yet they would not so much as pay for their outfit; and though they came back with upwards of two thousand dollars each, yet they, in rendering an account of their gains, were guilty of moral perjury. They were not smitten down by the vengeance of Heaven as were Ananias and Sapphira before the Apostle Peter, but verily they will have their reward.

Thursday, 20.—Finished my communication to Cist's Advertiser.

Saturday, 22.—M. R. W. starts to-day for Cass County. Sent by him to the Post Office a Com. for CIST'S ADVERTISER.

This afternoon M^r Dofflemeyer and M^r Griffin of the Institution came and put up with us intending to attend Quarterly Meeting. At night, clear and cold.

Sunday, 23.—Clear and cold! A real hoar frost. Prospects of a beautiful day. My family and guests going to Church.

Major Moseley called upon me on his way to Church and gave me the current news, and among these "Hung be the Heavens in black!" The bill granting to the Pacific Rail Road Company the right of way and each alternate section, which passed the Senate, was killed in the house. So goes Democracy. This may be *retrograde* progressive Democracy.

Our folks returned from Church bringing with them M^r Knight, Sr., from Kansas, who dined with us.

From him I learn that Kennedy of the Commonwealth has moved his Press from Independence to Kansas, intend-

ing to publish a *neutral* paper. Well, Democracy is on the wane in Jackson County.

Monday, 24.—Clear and beautiful morning with a clear *silver frost*, with every indication of a beautiful day.

Went over to Kansas for the first time for nearly five months. Spent some time quite agreeably with my friends, Dined with Mr Knight. Called at the Post Office; subscribed for the St. Louis Republican at \$1.45, in a Club. Cheap enough in all Conscience. Came home.

Tuesday, 25.—Went to attend the session of the Council.

John C. McCoy commenced to-day surveying the Wyandott purchase.¹ Commenced at the mouth of the Kansas.

Wednesday, 26.—Finished Schoolcraft's enquiries into the Indo-American language, i. e., Wyandott.

Sunday, 30.—Russel Garrett bro't my mail. News from Ohio!

On the 15th inst., on the 28th Ballot, Benjamin F. Wade, of Ashtabula County, was elected U. S. Senator, having rec'd 44 votes out of 81. Good!

APRIL, 1851.

Sunday, 6.—*O tempora! O mores!* Oh what a biting and killing frost! This frost has done the deed for the fruit for this year of 1851.

At 12 o'clock I set out for Independence. Went to John C. McCoy's and staid all night.

Monday, 7.—Cloudy and misting. Rain. Went in company with J. M. McCoy to Independence to attend the session of the County Court. Arrived midst rain "noise and confusion" about the Court House. Selling at auction negroes, horses, mules, etc.

Here I must be allowed to make a remark upon the characteristics of the citizens of Independence. They are the most

¹ McCoy surveyed most of the Indian Reservations in what is now Kansas. He laid out and was the proprietor of the town of Westport, Mo.

selfish, exacting, grinding, mercenary people I ever saw in any Country, barbarian or Christian. Hospitality is an utter stranger and foreigner to them. A stranger might arrive and stay six months or a year and may form many acquaintances and be a stranger still. He will never see the inside of their dwellings unless forced there by urgent business. And it really seems that the citizens have completely imbibed the notion that they have an indefeasible claim to the money a stranger may bring with him—that he ought not to be suffered to carry away from town any money,—that it is their prescriptive right. Independence is a spoiled child!

Tuesday, 8.—Attended the Council. A joint meeting of the Legislative Committee and Council was held. Committee adjourned sine die.

Wednesday, 9.—Staid at home all day feeling quite unwell.

Hired Russia Chop-The-Logs.¹ Cloudy day.

Monday, 21.—A most severe and biting frost! Farewell fruit. My Curse upon this Missouri Climate. Upper Missouri will always be subject to the drawbacks of an unstable and irregular Climate. From one extreme to another. Some winters rivaling Lapland and others mild as Louisiana, and spring varying from *summer heat* to zero. All this is attributed, by wise men, to the elevation or altitude and proximity to the snowy mountains. Well, there is no help for it.

¹ Russia Chop-The-Logs was afterward a soldier in the Union Army. While he was away in the war the late M. B. Newman, one Cooper, and others of Wyandotte County, supposing, or hoping, that he was dead, had an administrator appointed for his estate and sold his allotment of land. When "Chop," as he was called, came home sound and well Newman & Co. hid themselves, for he was a dangerous man, especially when under the influence of intoxicating liquors. He was furious when he found that his land had been sold, and that, too, on the representation that he was dead. He chased Newman up a stairway one day and said to him, "Oh, you scoundrel! I am mad now! I go fight while you cowardly devils hide at home! Then you swear I am dead and steal my land. Oh, I am mad now! *I wish I fight on the other side!*!" They prevented him from injuring Newman, but those concerned had to pay "Chop" for his land, and pay him well, too, to avoid serious trouble.

Just heard that Geo. I. Clark had arrived from Washington.

Monday, 28.—Wrote to G. W. Boyd, by Russia Chop-The-Logs to let Hamilton have the Store House for \$8. per month for 5 months, to keep a Grocery.¹

Wednesday, 30.—A most severe, biting frost. Farewell fruit!

C. B. Garrett, M. R. Walker and myself having been appointed by the Hon. Executive Council, School Examiners, we examined one applicant, M^{iss} R. Garrett, and pronounced her competent.

MAY, 1851.

Thursday, 1.—Cræsus! Jupiter!! What a Frost! The fruit totally destroyed.

To-day Henry Norton and Hannah Hicks were *partially* united in the state of Matrimony by Rev. M^r Shaler. They were married without the license required by law. The marriage is clearly illegal.

Friday, 2.—Just received a line from Maj. Moseley announcing his arrival last evening—and forthwith the Annuity must be paid, ready or not ready—softly, Major.

Special session of the Council appointed for to-morrow.

Saturday, 3.—Clear and beautiful morning. Must attend the Council.

The Council fixed on Wednesday, the 7th inst., as the day for the Commencement of the Semi-Annuity payment.

Got my family stores from *Kauses* this evening.

Sunday, 4.—Wrote letters, one to M. Butler, St. Louis, and one to F. H. Hereford, Independence.

Monday, 5.—Went to town—dined with Maj. Moseley, Met with C. Graham. Came home and found a M^r Lunsford, who is an applicant for the Post of Pedagogue. He seems

¹ A grocery in those days is a "saloon" in our day, and in the Kansas vernacular a "j'int."

to have some knowledge of the Art of teaching the young "idea how to shoot." Refer'd him to F. A. Hicks, School Director.

Wednesday, 7.—Examined Russell Garrett, a Candidate for School Teacher.

Commenced paying out the Annuity and paid out till 2 o'clock P. M. and adjourned for the day.

Thursday, 8.—Beautiful, clear morning. All nature has put on her gayest attire of "Kendal green."

Closed the Annuity payment at 3 o'clock P. M.

Friday, 9.—The Council in session: Gov. M. Bartley from Ohio, had an interview with the Council upon the subject of T. W. Bartley's claim upon the nation for Attorney's fees.

JUNE, 1851.

Monday, 2.—Finished a written report and argument against the claim of T. W. Bartley against the Wyandott nation. Went to attend the Council and there learned that Isaiah Zane was in confinement in the Jail for having stabbed James Barnett on Saturday evening. Went to see the wounded man and my prediction is, he will die, as I regard the wound mortal.

Made out the pay roll for the distribution of the Commutation money. Whole number entitled to receive, 609.

Tuesday, 3.—Attended a called session of the Legislative Committee.

M^{rs} H. Walker and Harriet set out for St. Charles. They went 'board the Yawl in company with H. M. Northrup, J. Walker and Sam'l Drummond to Kansas, intending from thence to take the Steamer, St. Paul.

The Council and Committee both adjourned at 5 o'clock.

Saturday, 7.—Special session of the Council to-day and also of the Legislative Committee.

Reported to the Council their answer to the claim of T.

W. Bartley as presented by Gov. M. Bartley.—It was read and with some slight amendments, adopted.

Sunday, 8.—In the evening M. R. W., J. W. Gray Eyes and M^r S. Drummond called and staid a couple of hours.

I have heard that there are some cases of Cholera in Kansas. May a kind providence deliver us from this scourge.

Monday, 9.—To-day it is intended by the Council to bring over the National money from Kansas and I will avail myself of the opportunity of getting some provisions bro't over.

Tuesday, 17.—Cloudy morning. So by order of the Council there is to be [a] convention of the Wyandott nation, convened for the purpose of determining by vote the admission or rejection of certain persons from Ohio claiming the rights of Wyandotts.

By John Solomon, I have just learned that John Standingstone died last evening with cholera. This, if true, is the first cholera case in the nation this season.

This day the Wyandott nation extinguished the [balance of the] Delaware debt, \$16,000.00. Our domain is, therefore, paid for.

Thursday, 19.—Cloudy weather. Just heard of the death of Charley Elliott.¹ He died, as I learn, at Bigtown's House.

¹ The following facetious biographical sketch was written by Governor Walker :

“ ‘His life was gentle, and the elements
So mixed in him, that nature might stand up,
And say to the world, *this was a man.*’

—*Shakespeare.*

“Died at the residence of Big Town, in Wyandott Territory, on Friday morning last, Charles Elliott, in the 41st year of his age. He died suddenly:—and it is supposed from apoplexy. Charley, as he was familiarly called by all who knew him, was completely identified with Kansas. When he left town for a season to enjoy rural life, there was certain to be something wrong, or out of joint about town—things did not move on as smoothly as usual—something out of fix—a screw loose here and a screw out of repair there. Business did not seem to move on with that celerity and briskness that was always noticed when he was present. It has been even said that the Captains of the Steamers have noticed the difference when landing at our port.

“The Counters and floors of the Coffee Houses and Groceries have remained undusted and unswept and decanters and glasses uncleared till Charlie's return, and his smiling face once more beamed upon the hitherto, dull town. His return was certain to revive business, if a degree of stagnation happened to occur, as is frequently the case

He was apparently well when he came there. He died in the night, supposed from Apoplexy. Kansas has truly sustained a loss in the death of Charley. Some public demonstration ought to be made by the corporate authorities of that city.

Friday, 20.—At night rain pouring, not upwards, but downwards “orfully.”

Saturday, 21.—A certain apology for a man named M—— recently from Cincinnati, and still more recently from New Madrid, called and sat—and—a—ah—ha and—a spoke and said—ye—es; bright boy, that chap. “Where little is given, little is required” saith a wise man.

Dr. Wright called this evening:—thinks our sick out of danger. *Ah Grand Dieu! des marauguan! C'est terrible.*

Sunday, 22.—Clear and beautiful morning. Wind from the east. Atmosphere in a more sanitary condition than yesterday. Cool and pleasant all day. The sick folks getting some better. M^{rs} Garrett staid all night. Sophia gone to Kansas.

M^r Miguel Otero from Mexico bro’t Harriet home in his carriage from Kansas, on her return from Lexington, where she has been paying a visit to her friends.

Thursday, 26.—By M^r John Moseley, we just heard of the

in all the River towns. His facetious and dry humor, his ready wit was enough to dispel *ennui* from the most confirmed Hypochondriac.

“The town Constable will not soon forget the good services rendered him in the way of advice in all doubtful questions of public duty. Charley’s advice was as good as that derived from the Law Book. He was familiar with the Ordinances of the town; hence the value of his advice in all questions in Municipal law. As a faithful biographer I am bound to say that some transient person rather indiscreetly called Charley a *Loafer*. This was a calumny. Albeit, he was, in his habits, a little *Loaferish*; but he was invested by dame nature with a dignity that caused him to tower ‘a head and shoulders’ above a wilderness of *Loafers*.

‘Charley was a Widower and has left an only child—an interesting daughter, Mary Elliott, who succeeds to his estate and honors according to the laws of the Wyandott nation. It is but just and a due regard to truth requires that, it should be stated that, Mary is not as discreet, prudent and well behaved as she would have been had she been more mindful of the precepts and admonitions of her lamented sire.

“Stranger, tread lightly upon the sod which covers the remains of poor Charley.

(Signed)

“GUIZOT.”

death of John Nofat. He is said to have died this morning of cholera.

Sunday, 29.—John Williams, son of Geo. D. Williams, was committed to prison yesterday for an assault on one of the twin boys, who died from his wounds. A sad fix for John. Went down to make a call upon Major Moseley. Spent a couple of hours with him in general chit chat.

JULY, 1851.

Tuesday, 1.—Went to town to see what the Hon. Executive Council was doing. Two members being missing and they being the oldest, James Rankin and James Washington, the Council adjourned till Thursday.

Friday, 4.—The glorious 4th spent in Kansas amongst very good company.

Saturday, 12.—Cholera still raging in Independence.

Tuesday, 15.—To-day John Williams will have his trial, if a Jury can be raised and the witnesses be had.

Went to town and called on Major Moseley who had just returned from a Delaware Council.

From reports from Independence the scourge is performing deadly work in that place. Six more deaths on Saturday.

Went up to the Council House to witness the trial of John Williams and Tyson Big-Snake. I was unexpectedly forced upon the Jury. For the want of evidence they were acquitted.

Wednesday, 16.—Adam Brown and Peter Bearskin called upon me to do some writing for them. By them I learned that Charles Graham had died of Cholera, probably the 14th inst. Just as I predicted and repeatedly told him. Poor Charley! he fell as an—a victim to the god mammon. The particulars of his death have not transpired.

I have since learned that he was attacked in the forenoon and died that evening. Mr Guthrie went to see him on busi-

ness, but when he reached there, found him in the agonies of death and [he] died a short time afterwards.

I have also heard of the death of Tondee. He died yesterday of the flux.

Saturday, 26.—Went over to see Uncle James Rankin who has been sick for several days. Found him quite a promising convalescent. M^r J. Walker and a M^r H. A. Walter called upon us and spent some time.

Several cases of cholera in Kansas.

Sunday, 27.—Clear, but warm—the sun rises with a fiery and lurid glare.

Went up to see Uncle James and staid till 1 o'clock P. M. Found him apparently free from disease but much weaker than he was on yesterday.

Rev. M^r Scarritt preached to-day. After meeting, he and his lady came and dined with us. I then called on M^r Shaler and found him improving. Therm. 98°.

Monday, 28.—I went over to see Uncle James and found him much better.

Major Moseley and Joel Walker went up to attend a Council of the Delawares.

Thursday, 31.—Clear and cool morning. This is the last day of July and with this month may terminate our excessive warm weather.

This has truly been a dull, monotonous day; not a soul has come near us up to this hour, 5 o'clock P. M. Half of the Wyandott nation might be dead and we unconscious of the calamity. Well, well, ignorance is bliss.

Within 20 minutes of 8 o'clock P. M. while I was sitting in the passage looking out upon the green, all of a sudden the yard in front became illuminated, [I] supposing upon the instant that a lighted candle was being bro't in from the kitchen, but upon looking up, a vast, brilliant illumination of a mixture of purple, crimson and yellow was looming

most magnificently in the South at, as near as I can recollect, about 45° above the horizon. The illumination lasted about 5 seconds and suddenly disappeared. Whether this was an Aereolite or not, I am unable to tell. About a minute after, a distant rumbling like thunder was heard in the same direction, which lasted a half minute, and gradually died away. I am certain it was not thunder, as at the time, the sky was clear and the stars twinkling all over the heavens—not a cloud was to be seen.¹

AUGUST, 1851.

Sunday, 3.—In the evening Rev. M^r Dofflemeyer called upon me and spent an hour in quite agreeable chat.

Monday, 4.—Finished reading Dickens' latest production, "David Copperfield, the Younger."

Major Moseley called to-day and staid an hour, [which we spent] in social chat. Learned by him that M^{rs} Cheautau's negro, Waller, died of cholera yesterday—a truly great loss to that family.

Friday, 8.—Went to Kansas. Settled with M^r Coffman, a debt due the Estate of Leonard Benvist, \$26.70. Came home in the evening.

This evening our folks took the Steamer 'Clara' for St. Charles.

Saturday, 9.—Staid at home all day. John Johnston lost his entire family—his wife and two children, by Cholera.

Our neighbors all gone to the Camp Meeting at Delaware.

Sunday, 10.—Warm. In the evening Major Moseley called and staid some time. Rain, rain. John Van Metre and William Taylor, clerks to Walker Boyd & Chick, died of cholera.

¹ From the year 1850 to that of 1860 such phenomena as is described here, and comets, and other strange appearances in the sky were often seen in Eastern Kentucky. People believed they were signs of approaching war. When the war commenced they were convinced that they had judged the signs aright.

Monday, 11.—Cloudy, and thro' the day more rain. What is this country going to come to? We shall have a pestilence. The Cholera is still carrying off its victims and other diseases will soon follow, especially those autumnal epidemics so common in this country.

Tuesday, 12.—Went to town to attend the National Election. Before going into the election a proposition was submitted by John Kayrohoo, one of the Candidates for the Council, to enquire into the expediency of so Amending the Constitution as to do away with the Legislative Committee.

It was, after some discussion, finally agreed to proceed with the election of members of the Council, and afterwards to elect members of a Convention to revise the Constitution.

Present Incumbents.		Nominees.	
James Washington,	62 Votes.	John Kayrohoo,	28 Maj. 34
James Rankin	58 “	Towareh	37 “ 21
Mat Mudeater.....	52 “	John Arms	45 “ 7
J. W. Gray Eyes ...	38 “	J. S. Bearskin...	67 “ 29

It was then proposed to proceed to the election of the members of the Legislative Committee. Agreed to. When the following men were elected:

John Sarrahess, Esq. Gray Eyes, White-Crow, J. Kayrohoo and J. D. Brown.

This election being disposed of, the Convention proceeded to the election of thirteen delegates to revise the Constitution.

John D. Brown, Esq. Gray Eyes, M. R. Walker, White-Crow, John Sarrahess, John Kayrohoo, Towareh, Silas Armstrong, J. M. Armstrong, Michael Frost, Matt Barnett, Thomas Coon-Hawk and Isaac Brown. 13.

James T. Charloe declining to be a candidate Louis Lumpey was elected Sheriff in his place. John Pipe was re-elected Sheriff.

Thursday, 14.—Deacon Shaler packing up his things.

Moved away in the afternoon. He left the Wyandott Territory under a *shade*.

Friday, 15.—The Anniversary of the Green Corn feast. "Time honored day," in the annals of Wyandott history.

Tuesday, 19.—Clear and pleasant. Major Moseley sent a dispatch to me, requiring my attendance at the Council, and in a few minutes Uncle James Rankin sent for me to come over and see his sick family, his daughter being considered dangerous. I yielded to the call of humanity in preferment to unimportant official calls.

Sunday, 31.—To-day a number of our folks set out, some for Ohio & some for Canada, viz.:—R. Garrett, M^{rs} M. Garrett, Rebecca Garrett, M. Mudeater and several others.

SEPTEMBER, 1851.

Monday, 1.—Went round to visit the sick. Uncle James Rankin sinking very fast with the consumption.

Tuesday, 2.—Beautiful morning. Rode out to F. A. Hicks's. Then visited the sick. Rode up to John Hicks's, Senr. [and] bo't some Beef and a Bushel of fine Peaches.

Scarcely a family to be found in the Nation without some one sick.

Wednesday, 3.—Issued marriage license to authorize the marriage of John B. Curley-Head to M^{iss} Matilda Clark.

Friday, 5.—Clear and warm. Went over to see Uncle James. He appears to maintain his strength and vigor in a remarkable degree.

In the evening I was called upon to visit Sam'l Rankin who is also taken down. I went over and found him in a high fever. Staid with him till after midnight. Unusually warm night.

Saturday, 6.—Went over in the evening to see Uncle James and family. Found Sam'l some better.

M. R. Walker had a son born to him to-day; over which he doubtless rejoices greatly.

Sunday, 7.—Martha passed thro' a bad night, having a high fever all night.

In the evening went to pay a visit to Major Moseley. Found Dr. Ridge & M^r Northrup & lady there. Staid till sunset and came home.

Sunday, 14.—Cloudy and misting rain. Went to Camp meeting. Heard a sermon from L. B. Stateler and one from M^r Scarritt. Turned out to be a pleasant day. Dined with M^r Dofflemeyer. Came home in the evening.

Monday, 15.—Clear and pleasant. Went to Meeting again.

Silas Armstrong not appearing, I interpreted for M^r Scarritt his 11 o'clock sermon.

Tuesday, 16.—Warm day. Visited M. R. W. and family; found them improving. Then visited Uncle James, found him still declining.

Nothing interesting transpired to-day, except the call of Doctor Doyle who wishes to be employed as Physician for the Nation, and also a call by a M^r Rucker, who wishes to open a Female Seminary in Kansas. Subscribed one session for Harriet.

Wednesday, 17.—Heard yesterday that that Buccaneer *Patriot* Lopez has been captured by the Cubans and executed. It is to be hoped that the signal failure of this lawless and uncalled for interference with the affairs of foreign governments, will teach Americans to stay at home and attend to their own business. It has been seen but too clearly, and severely too, that the oppressed Cubans do not thank Americans for their sympathy, least of all for their invasion of their soil for the ostensible purpose of delivering them from oppression. Verily, the Americans that have been caught upon their soil have had "their reward"!

Major Moseley returned from Potawotamie.

Thursday, 18.—Clear and beautiful morning tho' somewhat cool

Went to pay a visit to Maj. Moseley. Found him much fatigued and indisposed. Saw a late No. of the Republican which confirms the reported capture and execution of Lopez, the Brigand.

Went up to F. A. Hicks's and found Rev. L. B. Stateler and Lady there. Had a long conversation with him on the prospects of the Aboriginal race, connected with the policy of the Government towards them.

Learned that the Circuit Court will adjourn next Saturday.

Friday, 19.—Clear and pleasant morning, with the prospect of a warm day. Went to Independence to attend the session of the Circuit Court. Had my case continued till next term.

Saturday, 20.—Spent my time in looking about town and chatting with acquaintances, and spending Some time in Court witnessing its proceedings.

Sunday, 21.—Spent the day in town. Heard of the death of Judge McClelland of Sibley.

Monday, 22.—Came home and found M^r Gilmore had returned from Cincinnati.

Sunday, 28.—Went to Church. While there M^{rs} Kelley and M^{rs} Lusk, the former from Wayne City, and the latter from Jefferson City, came in. They came on a visit. They dined with us and were compelled to return the same evening. Uncle James sent for me; I found him insensible and about winding up his earthly career. I, with C. B. Garrett and Henry Garrett, staid with him till he expired, at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 A. M. I and Henry closed his eyes. Thus terminated the career of JAMES RANKIN in the 76th year of his age.

Monday, 29.—Arrangements made for the funeral, to take place to-morrow under the directions of the Council.

At a special session of the Council it was agreed that at

11 o'clock A. M., the corpse be taken to the Church where an oration is to be delivered by John Hicks, Sen.; from thence to the burying ground, and after the burial, the company to disperse.

Tuesday, 30.—Beautiful day. The funeral solemnities were performed in accordance with the above programme.

Came home fatigued and worn out.

OCTOBER, 1851.

Wednesday, 1.—Went over in the evening to see my Widowed Aunt's family. Found them improving.

Thursday, 2.—Joel Walker called and informed me that the Council would meet to-day. After some time we went down. I called upon Major Moseley who had been sick, and I received a severe cursing from him for not paying more attention to him.

The Council rejected Dr. Doyle's application.

Friday, 3.—M^{rs} W. and I signed the deed conveying our Seneca County land. We both went to pay a visit to Major Moseley. Found him improving; but a more obstinate, ill tempered, fretful and troublesome sick man I never saw.

Saturday, 4.—Bro't over some cows from Aunt Rankin's to keep a few weeks, while the family was sick and unable to attend to them.

Cut some wood and packed it on my shoulder to the House. This is outrageous for me to become a pack mule! —Harriet came home.

Monday, 6.—Wrote out a Biographical Sketch of Uncle James R. for publication.

I learn by M. R. Walker that Major Moseley is worse. When is our sickness to terminate?

In the evening my fever came on; lasted nearly all night. M^{rs} W. confined to her bed.

Louis Lumpey, one of the Sheriffs, called and notified me

to attend a National Convention, for what purpose, he did not inform me. It is rather problematical whether I shall attend or not.

Tuesday, 7.—Clear and cool morning with an unusually heavy dew.

I feel better this morning. I must avail myself of my good condition by going to Kansas to procure some family stores, medicines, &c.

This morning a Boat in passing up grounded upon the bar, and there she lays.

Went to Kansas and purchased some medicines. Came home, and as usual, had a chill, which prevented me from attending the National Convention.

Wednesday, 8.—In the afternoon M^{rs} Z. Armstrong called to see us; and shortly after, M^{rs} M. Hicks called. From her we learned that our son of the Emerald Isle of potato smashing memory, John Lynch, was married in Cass County to a M^{ss} Susan Tull. Verily M^{iss} Susan must have wanted a husband distressingly!

Saturday, 11.—I went to Kansas and got my mail. There I learned that Col. Chenault had bro't on Major Moseley's Annuity. Dined with M^r Boyd at the "Union," reopened. The dinner nothing to boast of.

Sunday, 12.—In the afternoon I paid a visit to Major Moseley and found him recovering; but Oh! what an ill tempered, wicked old sinner. Having a very sore mouth and unable to talk only by signs, but when in a gust of passion he will swear like a pirate. His son John arrived on Saturday. Just heard that M^{rs} Long is not expected to live.

Wrote a communication for the Ledger.

Monday, 13.—Wrote to M^r Thomas Shipley of Cass County. M^r John Moseley called this morning and spent an hour with us.

Addressed a note to M^r Telegraph man demanding resti-

tution of moneys paid for dispatches sent when their wires were broken.

Just heard of the death of M^{rs} Long.

Tuesday, 14.—Wrote to Sophia, enclosing \$32. to her at Harrodsburg. Wrote also to O. Andrews at St. Charles, enclosing \$6.00. [Wrote] also to Dr. Rodgers, enclosing \$10.00.

Mr. Long died last evening.

Saturday, 18.—A deputation of Sioux, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Crows and Snake Indians headed by Major Fitz Patrick were at the "Union Hotel" waiting for a Boat. They are on a visit by special invitation to Washington.

While [I was] there the Clara came down and they took passage on her.

Sunday, 19.—M^r Dofflemeyer went to preach to the Delawares.

Monday, 20.—I must pay my respects to Major Moseley this morning.

Went at 10 o'clock and wrote in the Agent's office. The Major paying off the employees in his Agency.

Then went to the Council. The new Constitution was adopted and a poor thing—a piece of folly, the product of a set of sap heads, and a sappy concern it is.

Just heard of the death of David Young. Died of consumption.

James T. Charloe elected to supply the vacancy in the Council caused by the decease of James Rankin.

Wednesday, 22.—Heard yesterday that the Steamer Herman was sunk and her cargo, part belonging to Walker Boyd & Chick, lost and damaged.

M^r Gilmore and Martha gone up to F. A. Hicks's to see Dr. Fish the Oculist.

Saturday, 25.—We had a tempestuous and windy night. Cloudy this morning. Dry weather. The grass is parched up.

So it is in this Country. Everything on extremes. When we have rain it is a general deluge, and that over, then a drouth follows and the face of the earth is as dry as the deserts of Zaharra. The more I see and feel of this climate, the more I am dissatisfied with it. I have taken a severe cold. The wind is now blowing from the North and very cold. I have a severe pain in my breast, with some difficulty of breathing.

Sunday, 26.—Mr Scarritt preaches to-day but I am too much indisposed to attend Church.

Went down in the Afternoon to visit Major Moseley. He is evidently getting well and intends making the Annuity payment this week.

So has this Sabbath day been spent.

Tuesday, 28.—I suppose the Council will meet to-day and make out the Pay Roll. Preparatory to the payment of the Semi-Annuity. I must go down and aid them, and make out triplicates.

At 10 o'clock I went to the Council. Found the Principal Chief & the two Sheriffs in attendance, but no Councilors. I will wait no longer; having waited two hours, I came home, and they may get along the best they can, *the lazy scamps*.

Wednesday, 29.—Went down to see Major Moseley. But he had flown from his "Rookery" and taken passage in Mr Dofflemeyer's carriage for Kansas. Johnny O'Bludgeon passed on his way to Cass County. Came home. Then went to M. R. Walker's and bo't some fine Beef. Cloudy and threatening more rain. Russia hauling wood, and I doing nothing. Mrs W. bo't of Mr^s Dofflemeyer a *horse*.

I have been suffering for a week past with a severe Heart-burn. I have resorted to the usual remedies in such cases, such as Rodix Rhei Soda, weak ley &c., abstinence from oleaginous food, but all to no purpose—no relief afforded. What shall I do next? Yes, what?

Friday, 31.—Commenced making out triplicate Pay Rolls for the Annuity. Feel very unwell. Feeble and weak.

NOVEMBER, 1851.

Saturday, 1.—Pennsylvania and Ohio gone for the Democracy.

Rec'd a letter from Dr. Rogers of St. Charles acknowledging the Receipt of \$10. Working at the Pay Rolls.

Sunday, 2.—Went in company with Martha to the Northern Quarterly Meeting. Heard a poor sermon from the Presiding Elder. Rev. L. B. Stateler preached at the Brick Church.

In the evening M^r Henry Twyman called, and staid all night.

Monday, 3.—Rec'd an invitation to a wedding at M^{rs} Rankin's. The happy couple was John Pipe and Miss Nancy Rankin. They were [married] by Rev. M^r Dofflemeyer. There [was] a bountiful supper. Came home at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 in the evening.

Friday, 7.—Splendid morning! This is emphatically "INDIAN SUMMER." We have had no rain for four weeks and the earth is parched up, and the grass as dry as flax.

Went to Kansas and found Esquire Ladd & family had landed the evening before, and I suppose calculate upon becoming residents of Missouri.

Saturday, 8.—To-day Maj. Moseley makes the Annuity payment.

Closed the Semi-Annuity [payment] to-day at 3 o'clock P. M., at \$13.00 per capita. James Findlay, Esq., assisted in the payment.

Sunday, 9.—Went over to Pharaoh's and spent some time in social chat. Heard of the death of Rev. James Porter. Also heard that Albert G. Boon was married to some Eastern Lady.

Wet and "mucky weather." In the evening the weather cleared up and the moon rose in crimson majesty, and the Heavens were covered with brilliant stars. Felicitatus.

Wednesday, 12.—We have had no one to call upon us to-day. Something unusual.

Just at this moment Russel Garrett called in; having been forced out, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, to hunt for some chewing tobacco. I furnished him with a slice of *the weed*.

Sunday, 16.—Must go [to] the Synagogue to hear M^r Scarritt preach, this being his day to preach at the Brick Church. Came home at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 o'clock P. M. A rather thin Congregation.

At 7 o'clock at night cosily seated by the fire we eat our last Water Melon.

Our family is now reduced to our two selves and the domestic, and we "*are a mighty civil family*."

Tuesday, 18.—Clear cold and frosty morning. To-day the Council meets and I must present, in M^r Gilmore's name, the Calumet to the Wolf tribe, thro' James Washington.

Went to town and got our horse, *John*, shod. Learned that a murder had been perpetrated near Westport by one Shawnee upon another, and another had been severely tomahawked. Major Moseley returned in the afternoon.

During the session of the Council I presented M^r Gilmore's Pipe, with a suitable speech.

DECEMBER, 1851.

Thursday, 4.—A National Convention of the Wyandotts is to be held to-day, but for what purpose, I am not advised.

I went down and called upon Major M. Found him still quite indisposed. Attended the Meeting at the Council House. A little over thirty persons attended, not a quorum; but they recommitted the new Constitution to the framers for certain amendments. I entertain for these Constitution

makers and reformers but little respect either for their abilities or their *professed* love for the "*dear people*." They are a set of noisy demagogues—having no fixed, or established principles, either political, moral or religious.

While there, I was taken with a chill and I took French leave.

Friday, 5.—C. B. Garrett was thrown from his Wagon and badly hurt in his side.

Saturday, 6.—Being a witness in the Case of McNees vs Hudson and the trial being set for to-day I went to K. The Plaintiff, however, had withdrawn the suit.

Sunday, 7.—Visited C. B. Garrett.¹ Found him some-

¹ Charles B. Garrett was born in Greenbrier County, (now) West Virginia, October 28, 1794. He was the son of William and Winnaford (Bolt) Garrett. His father was a farmer and he worked on the farm until he was 17, when he formed a little company of his companions and went to Vincennes, where they joined the army of General Harrison. He served through the war of 1812, being in the battle of Tippecanoe, and that of the Thames. At the close of the war he returned home, but he remembered the beautiful country of Ohio, and returned to Ross County, that State, in 1816. Here he married Miss Kittie Ann White, August 29, 1818. Miss White's father came from Greenbrier County, West Va. He had been a Captain in the Revolutionary army. His wife was the sister of President Monroe. Mr. Garrett moved from Ross County to Crawford County sometime before 1823. His wife died there in that year. He married Miss Maria Walker, the youngest sister of Governor Walker, at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, October 31, 1826, and was soon afterwards adopted into the Wyandot tribe with much ceremony and pomp. He engaged in the wool-carding business and had mills at what was known as "Little Wyandot" in what is now Wyandot County, Ohio. In 1843 he came West with the Wyandots. He built his house on what is now North 7th Street, Kansas City, Kansas. In 1849, he and other Wyandots formed a company to go to California to dig gold. They were six months on the way across the plains and mountains. They were on the North Fork of Feather River and were successful. He was attacked by the mountain fever and his son Russell brought him home, by way of Panama and New Orleans, in the Spring of 1852. He died December 2, 1867, of dropsy, at the home of his son, Russell, in the old Brevitore House at the corner of Fourth Street and Nebraska Avenue, Kansas City, Kansas. He is buried in the old Huron Place Cemetery, in that city. His family burying ground is immediately on the lines of Minnesota Avenue and some private property. In grading the street and this property the burial lot is left high above the street and the fine stone wall about it is tumbling down. On the marble shaft in the lot is the following:

In
Memory of
Charles B. Garrett
Died
Dec. 2 1867
Aged
73 Yrs 1 Mo & 4 Ds.

His wife is buried in the same lot. She died May 30, 1866. The children of Charles

what comfortable but he is badly hurt. The weather being rather Labradorian I kept close quarters.

Monday, 8.—M^{rs} W. and I went over to see the invalid. Found him in considerable of misery. Dr. Doyle, his Physician was with him. Staid a couple of hours, and came home, leaving M^{rs} W. there. Had a sick afternoon.

Tuesday, 23.—M^r and M^{rs} Dofflemeyer set out for Platte County. I envy not their ride on such a day as this.

Went to town and called upon Major Moseley. While there the Council sent for me and notified me of my election to [the] office of Clerk of the Council. I informed that Honorable body that I duly appreciated the honor done me by the voters of the Wyandott nation, but unfortunately I was ineligible. I held an appointment under the U. S. in the Indian department, that of U. S. Interpreter for the Wyandott nation, and had been sworn into office and also to support the Constitution of the U. S.; and the law of the Wyandott nation required the Clerk, before entering upon his duties, to take an oath of fealty to the Wyandott nation, thus requiring the same individual to serve two governments. But I would cheerfully serve them as Clerk provided they would dispense with the qualifying oath. The question was postponed.

Wednesday, 24.—Having employed Jacob Charloe to accompany me to Kansas, we set out at 12 o'clock on foot. Thawing and slavish walking.

B. Garrett and Kittie Ann (White) Garrett were : 1. Amanda, born June 15, 1819, married — Roseberry, died at Bucyrus in 1845 ; 2. William W., born December 29, 1821, married Mary Ann Long, at Wyandotte, Kan., died July 5, 1867, of typhoid fever ; 3. Wesley born September 26, 1823, married Sarah Spurlock, died at Lecompton, Kan., January 6, 1894, of la grippe.

Children of Charles B. Garrett and Maria (Walker) Garrett were : 1. Harriet P., born December 16, 1827, died August 1, 1830 ; 2. Russell, born September 29, 1829, married Miss Elizabeth J. Lane, May 18, 1860, lives in Ventura, Cal. ; 3. Cyrus, born May 1, 1831, never married, died February 20, 1859, at St. Louis, of consumption ; 4. Henry, born March 16, 1833, never married, died April 14, 1857, at Cincinnati, of scarlet fever ; 5. Byron, born September 25, 1835, died September 1, 1842 ; 6. Jane, born April 26, 1838, died October 20, 1841 ; 7. Charles, born September 26, 1842, died September 8, 1843.

Settled up some business. Paid up my postage for the year. Came home at dark tired and fatigued.

Thursday, 25.—A merry Christmas to ye all! Cloudy and damp morning. 12 o'clock M^r Geo. Armstrong called and had a long conversation upon the subject of the appointment of Administrators on the Estate of Geo. Armstrong, dec.

Christmas closed without any thing strange or interesting occurring about our domicile.

JANUARY, 1852.

Thursday, 1.—A happy new year to all my friends—and enemies if any I have. To each of the former I send my kind greetings & “the compliments of the season.”

Spent a few days in Kansas partly on business and partly in social intercourse with my acquaintances and friends.

Thursday, 15.—In the afternoon who should appear, but a strange apparition of the WEEPING PHILOSOPHER in the person of the Widow Graham in her weeds and tears and refusing to be comforted. It was enough to elongate the countenance of a Zany, to look upon her and hear her whinings and wailings.

Friday, 23.—*A strange incident in our neighborhood.*

Samuel Drummond formerly from Belmont County, Ohio, Assistant Blacksmith in the Public Shop, some time during the last week in December manifested some symptoms of aberration of the mind by his strange moodiness and taciturnity and a singular waywardness of conduct unusual for him; during which he suddenly disappeared. He was afterwards heard of in Parkville. From thence he went in the direction of Platte City. The next intelligence was, his calling at a House and offering all the money he had for lodging; but the man noticing his singular conduct, refused. He stated that “*He was pursued by a gang of fellows from*

Kansas and he was trying to escape from them." Samuel Rankin and perhaps some others went in pursuit of him. They traced him as far as Barrey, where he was last seen. From thence he launched out into an immense broad prairie, where they lost track of him. Poor fellow! we fear his stiffened corse is stretched upon some bleak prairie. It is now three weeks since he has been wandering about "knowing not whither he goeth" amidst bitter Labradorian weather.

Tuesday, 27.—To-day the Council meets and I must attend, as some important matters come before that Honorable body.

Called upon Major Moseley on my way to the Council and found him still quite sick and unable to do business.

Last night the Widow Warpole departed this life. Heard at the same time that Captain Peter Buck and Miss Catharine Johnston died in the Seneca Country.

Another strange incident in our neighborhood.

On Thursday last Nicholas Williams was seen in Kansas and remained till late in the evening, when he set out for home. Thomas Coon-Hawk overtook him at Turkey Creek and finding him somewhat intoxicated kept with him till they came to the crossing of the Kansas when Williams objected to crossing on the ice where Thomas intended to cross, and started off, as he said, to cross below. It was then dark and [he] has never been seen nor heard of since.¹

Wednesday, 28.—Harriet was taken sick on Monday. Sick all day and much worse at night.

Thursday, 29.—Sent Mr Nichols to Kansas for a Doctor to attend on Harriet, tho' she seems a little better this morning. At 1 o'clock P. M. Dr. Ridge arrived and prepared medicine for Harriet.

¹ The father of Mrs. Mary Walker, widow of Isaiah Walker. It was supposed that the ice broke with him, and that he was drowned in the Kansas River.

No intelligence of Nicholas Williams. His fate remains a mystery.

Friday, 30.—Poor old Nicholas Williams is given [up] for gone, as no trace can be found of him.

FEBRUARY, 1852.

Monday, 2.—Heard of the death of Mr Wilson of Kansas.

Tuesday, 3.—Mr Nichols returned, and by him we learn that a Mr Jackson of Kansas died of Pneumonia on Saturday last. Got no mail “‘cause the *Blue's* up.”

To-day the Council meets and I must attend.

Reported the written Statement on the Walker claim, which was adopted and signed, and placed in the hands of Major Moseley.

The following deaths have occurred in the Wyandott nation since the first day of January. Towara, Widow Warpole, Peter Buck, Catharine Johnston, Jacob Charloe's child, James Brown, Margaret Young's daughter, Sarah Hill, N. Williams [missing], Henry Warpole's wife.

Thursday, 5.—In the evening heard of the death of Black-Sheep's wife, who died on Tuesday evening. And also of the death of Curley-Head's wife. This turns out a mistake. She is not dead.

Friday, 6.—Mud. Such as I never saw in Missouri before. Heard by Jacob Charloe that it is a mistake about Curley-Head's wife being dead. She is in the Seneca country.

Learned from Major Moseley that the remains of Samuel Drummond were found within two miles of Liberty, a few days ago:—and that out of \$155.00, he had still on his person \$100.00 in gold. Just heard of the death of Mr Arms.

Thursday, 12.—Isaiah Walker¹ called upon us and spent

¹ Isaiah Walker was the son of Governor Walker's brother Isaac. He married Mary Williams. The wedding was at the house of Silas Armstrong. For an account of it see Governor Walker's Journal, under date of February 13, 1853. He moved to the

the day with us. Hauling stone. I greatly fear we shall have some rain.—“Heaven forfend”! Clear night, but very cold.

Friday, 13.—The Sheriff called to-day to summons me to attend a called session of the Council to quell a bloody quarrel between Adam Brown and Abelard Guthrie. I went down and found the two under arrest by the Sheriff.

Saturday, 14.—Jemmy and his hand having completed their job, [I] went to Kansas to pay them off,—\$7.

[I] remained there [at Kansas] several days.

Meantime a most murderous affair came off.* The murderer was Isaiah Zane and the murdered was John Kayro-hoo. The offence having been committed over the line, *i. e.* in Jackson County, the former was committed to prison to stand his trial at the next session of the Circuit Court.

* Monday, 16.—The murder refer'd to took place on the afternoon of this date and the Court of Enquiry with the Inquest took place the next day, Tuesday.

The Missouri river on the rise and full of thick ice floating down like an avalanche.

Saturday, 28.—Went with James Washington to the Agent's office on public business. Capt. Joseph Parks arrived on public business, also.

Henry Norton selling his effects at public Auction and going to St. Louis to keep a Drug Store.

MARCH, 1852.

Monday, 15.—A most desperate rencounter took place in Kansas between Charles Hooker and a young man named Hilton, a discharged clerk who had been in the employ of the former. It appears that the Store of M^r H. had been robbed in the early part of the winter, of some[thing] near \$400.00, in his absence, and M^r Hilton having charge of the

Indian Territory with the Wyandots. His home was near Seneca, Mo. He was drawing some water from a well in his stable yard when the board across the mouth of the well, on which he was standing, broke, letting him fall into the well. The injuries sustained in the fall caused his death.

Store at the time. Upon the return of M^r H[ooker] he dismissed M^r H[ilton] and at the same time charged him with the robbery, or [with] being accessory to it. M^r Hilton, smarting under the disgraceful imputation, sought satisfaction in various ways, but in vain. He then challenged M^r H[ooker] thro' D^r Gemundt, but [his challenge was] not accepted. He then determined upon summary chastisement. Armed with two Pistols, he sallied out into the street, and met M^r H[ooker]. Two shots were fired but without effect upon his opponent, while he received two horrid gashes in his abdomen, penetrating the viscera. The wounds are pronounced mortal.

Tuesday, 16.—M^r Hilton still alive.

APRIL, 1852.

Saturday, 10.—In the evening Rev. M^r Barker, M^r Scarritt's successor, called upon us and spent some time with us.

Sunday, 11.—Frosty morning. Went to Church and heard a good sermon from M^r B.

Wednesday, 14.—We planted a large quantity of top Onions: nearly enough to supply all Holland if they do well.

My execration upon our new public Black Smith for a *trifling lying scamp*. I cannot get him to do any work for me. This is the first time in 35 years that I have had occasion to complain seriously of our public smiths; but this fellow, Priestly, is enough to provoke the soul of a saint. Received a letter from Maj. Moseley on Public affairs.

Sunday, 18.—A clear frosty morning. I fear for the fruit. It would seem that I am doomed never to raise any peaches, —notwithstanding the great care and pains I have taken in their culture. My labor, care and pains must go unrewarded.

Just heard of the death of John M. Armstrong, who died

in Mansfield, Ohio, while on his way to Washington City. Poor fellow! he was intent on no good in his journey to that City. His business was with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He was an agitator among the Indians and has heretofore created much trouble among his own people, and the surrounding tribes. *Buried be his faults with him.* He died on the 15th instant and was taken to Bellfontaine and buried by the side of his Mother.

Also, died last evening, at the residence of her mother, M^{rs} Hester Fish, of Wakalusa. She was first cousin to the above, J. M. Armstrong.

Went to Church and heard a sermon from M^r Dofflemeyer. M^{rs} W. went over to visit the distressed widow.

Tuesday, 20.—To-day the Council meets and as Major M. is to be over I must attend.

Attended the Council. Major Moseley came round by Muncie town and bro't down with him all the leading men of the Muncie tribe to answer to the Wyandott Chiefs for depredations committed by their people upon the property of the Wyandotts. They agreed to surrender the stolen property, or, if unable to do that, then surrender the thieves to the Wyandott Chiefs to be dealt with according to their laws.¹

MAY, 1852.

Thursday, 6.—This morning my horse Draggon made his escape from the pasture. I pursued and recaptured him. Took my hand, M^r Oliver, and made some additional repairs to my pasture fence.

This day the OREGON COMPANY, Consisting of M^r McCowen and family, M^r Hunter and family, M^r Lynville and

¹ The Muncies lived on the Delaware lands, and most of them lived in the vicinity of the present Postoffice of Muncie, in Wyandotte County, Kansas. They are a sub-tribe of the Delawares; the Delawares only permitted them to reside on their lands temporarily. They came West with the Stockbridges. Some Muncies and Stockbridges lived on the banks of the Missouri River, just below where Leavenworth City now is, and on the sites of the Soldiers' Home, and Mount Muncie Cemetery.

family, with various others, names unknown, set out on their long and lonesome journey. About bed time the sky clear and the Heavens bespangled with stars.

Friday, 7.—Notified of the meeting of the National Convention on to-morrow.

Saturday, 8.—Attended the Convention above alluded to. The Principal Chief presided. The object of the meeting having been stated: that of authorizing the Council to take measures for the ratification of that part of the Treaty of April, 1850, which was suspended by the President and Senate. After an animated discussion of some four hours, a vote was taken and the measure was carried by two thirds majority. The next question was voting money to defray the expenses of a delegation to go to Washington. Carried. Convention adjourned.

Thursday, 13.—*Burning our log heaps to-day.* High winds.

Heard yesterday that there were cases of Cholera in Westport, and one death. John Lynch called here to-day. He complained of bad health: "Be me troth and its meself that's had the chill every day and och! but I'm after getting very wake intirely, so I is."—

Friday, 14.—A young Doctor Rice, brother of Dr. Rice of Kansas, called to-day and spent the day with us.

The Cholera is in our land—several deaths near and in Westport. It is awfully destructive among the Mormon emigrants. The Shawnee Chief, Jackson, died yesterday of this complaint.

Saturday, 15.—M. Mudeater called to-day for despatches for Major Moseley, composed of triplicate receipts for M^r Isaac Baker and myself for our quarter's pay. The former as Assistant Blacksmith, and myself as ——— so and so. Also for the school fund for the first half year of 1852.

At about 4 o'clock P. M. we had an awful rain accom-

panied with hail, which lasted about two hours and a half. For the first time my cellar was inundated with water five inches deep.

Dr. Gemundt fled from the storm and took up quarters with us for the night.

Sunday, 16.—Mr Garrett found a horse with a woman's saddle on, which was recognized as belonging to the Widow [of] Robert Coon, and shortly afterwards a child was found in Jersey Creek, drowned. Immediate search was made for the mother and [she was] found some distance below in the creek, her clothing having become entangled in a snag. The child was bro't to our house and our women dressed it and laid [it] out. When the mother was found, the corpse was taken to the Council house. There is no doubt but she attempted to cross Jersey Creek on Saturday evening after the storm, when it was at its highest; for it rose in a short time 10 or 11 feet.

Monday, 17.—John Bigsineu died yesterday of Cholera or, what is more probable, [of] *Delirium Tremans*.

Tuesday, 18.—This being a Council day, I must attend, as Major Moseley has sent word over that he would be here. There is every appearance of a clear day, but whether it will be a warm day is somewhat doubtful.

Went to the Council to meet Major Moseley. Done up some public business. Wrote out the instructions for the deputation going to Washington. Major M. returned home, and I did the same.

Previous to leaving, a gang of Muncies were arraigned for Horse stealing from some of our Wyandotts. They are a great set of Scamps.

Tuesday, 25.—11 o'clock A. M., still raining. No more ploughing to-day.

"So lay by the shovel and the hoe
And hang up the fiddle and bow—"

We are doomed to be without fruit this year.

12 o'clock M., Raining still. *Shall the rains forever devour?*

I wish Thompson, the Scotch Poet, and author of "THE SEASONS" had flourished in this day and resided in this country,—I mean Upper Missouri, and was now writing his *Seasons*. I think it would afford some amusement to read his descriptions of Missouri Seasons. I fancy he would, in a short time, hie back to his Caledonian Hills and bid an eternal adieu to this *Humid, murky, rainy, stormy, inconstant, dismal, Labradorian climate*.

Wednesday, 26.—About 8 o'clock A. M. the shining face of Old Sol was seen thro' the misty clouds, but a repulsive frown from old Boreas soon caused him to withdraw behind a dark cloud. Raining.

Wm. Mulkey called and spent an hour, and returned.

Doctor Gemundt called to see M^r W. for whom he is prescribing.

Yesterday the Wyandott delegation for Washington set out, on board the Elvira.

Thursday, 27.—M^r Muir is to be united to Miss Mary Rankin this evening.

Rec'd a letter from my Attorney, F. Hereford, informing me that my A|c against the Estate of C. Graham, dec., was allowed by the County Court, minus \$2.50 for "Wintering a Steer."

Friday, 28.—In the afternoon the girls came home from the party at the Union Hotel, accompanied by W. Mulkey and a M^r King from Georgia.

Sunday, 30.—Went to Church and heard a sermon by M^r Dofflemeyer. Heard of the death of M^r Preston Knight, late P. M. in Kansas.

JUNE, 1852.

Tuesday, 8.—My execration upon my neighbors' swine. They commenced taking up my Corn. I will have one of

two things to do,—either Kill the young ones or lose my crop. I will do the former, “that’s flat.”

Attended the session of the Council.

Came home in the evening and found the *dolorous* and *weeping* and *inconsolable* and *never to be consoled* (till married again) *Widow Graham*. And like the weeping Philosopher her tears still flow like the tail race of a mill, as tho’ never did woman lose a husband before but herself.

FAUGH!!!

Wednesday, 9.—Replanted our field which has been taken by M^{rs} A’s Pigs. While doing so, we Killed three of them.

Thursday, 10.—Nearly the whole Nine acres were destroyed by the *accursed swine*. During this forenoon we Killed two more.

Friday, 11.—Messrs. Elwell and Watkins, (the former a Daguerreotypist and the latter a Telegraph Operator) called upon us this afternoon. The latter Gentleman furnished me with a late Daily St. Louis Republican in which are given briefly the balloting of the National Democratic Convention. On the 49th ballot Gen. Pierce of N. H., never named as a candidate for the Presidency, heretofore, was declared the nominee, to the great dismay and consternation of the old Fogies, the young Americas, the young Africas, &c. The same paper contains information of the passage thro’ Congress of the Bill granting the right of way and the adjacent public lands to the Pacific and Hannibal and St. Joseph Rail Roads.

Visited my Corn field and found three pigs in it taking up the Corn just replanted. I killed two of them with a Club and the third made his escape. Too bad, too bad!

Sunday, 13.—Clear and beautiful morning. To-day the Funeral Sermon of the late John M. Armstrong is to be preached by the Northern Preacher, M^r Whitten, at the Brick Church.

One death in K. by Cholera last night—a stranger.

All went to Church and M^r W—— preached from Psalms. "*Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His Saints.*" A large congregation attended, and many Citizens of Kansas were in attendance.

Just heard of the death of AARON COON. M^r and M^{rs} Dofflemeyer dined with us to-day.

Tuesday, 15.—I have resting on me to-day, to my great annoyance, not the spirit of heaviness "nor" the spirit of prophesy," (except that I prophesy we shall have no rain to-day), but the genuine *spirit of indolence*. So inveterate is it, that not even the Odic force of the Spiritual rappers can move me, or set my symmetrical frame into motion. I feel much inclined to the twin brother of my complaint, Somnolency. Wake up! Wake up!!

Addressed a communication to Major Moseley on et ceteras.

Thursday, 17.—Wrote a communication for Cist's Advertiser on St. Clair's defeat.

Friday, 18.—M^r N——. replanting corn and Killing pigs. I am resolved to extirpate every infant or minor swine that I may detect destroying my Corn; no matter to whom they belong; my own shall share the same inexorable sentence.

Saturday, 19.—William Clark and Lady from Canada arrived to-day. Also, Adam Brown, who went to that country as refugee from justice.¹

The Quarterly Meeting of the M. E. Church, South, commences to-day.

¹ It was hardly so bad as that. This trouble was the quarrel spoken of by Governor Walker between Abelard Guthrie and Adam Brown. Guthrie was on the defensive at all times, and wished to be on good terms with his father-in-law. He brought the matter to the attention of Major Moseley, who submitted it to the Council with a recommendation to that body to intercede. I have Major Moseley's letter on the subject. Brown had shot at Guthrie. Brown's friends urged him to go to the Wyandots in Canada and remain awhile, which he did. It is more than probable that he went with the knowledge and consent of Guthrie and the Council. When he returned all parties to the quarrel became friends.

John S. Bearskin, one of the chiefs, called here to-day.

We got no mail. "The Blue's up."

Sunday, 20.—Had a visit from the Clergy, Revs. John F. Peerey, Dofflemeyer and Wallace. We went to Church. M^r Wallace preached. Dr. Ready and M^r Funk come home with us to dinner.

Received a letter from Maj. Moseley.

Monday, 21.—Waiting for news by Telegraph from the Whig National Convention.

Went to Kansas and learned that Gen. W. Scott was the nominee of the Whig National Convention, and Wm. A. Graham of N. C., Vice P.

JULY, 1852.

Friday, 2.—The corpse of Gov. Calhoun, who died on the road from Santa Fe to Kansas was bro't in for burial. He is to be buried with Masonic Honors. What train bro't the remains in is yet unknown.

Saturday, 3.—Wrote a letter to Scott and Bascom of the "Ohio State Journal."

M^r N—— gone to Kansas to bring our Mail, should we be so fortunate as to get one from the East; and *provided* always, "The Blue" is not up.

Tuesday, 13.—Went to attend the National Convention to nominate candidates for the ensuing election.

For Principal Chief.

George I. Clark.

John D. Brown.

Council.

James Washington	vs	F. A. Hicks.
Mat Mudeater	vs	John Arms.
Tauromee	vs	John Sarraheess.
John S. Bearskin	vs	John Hicks, Jr.

Legislative Committee.

J. W. Grey Eyes	vs	Silas Armstrong.
Isaac Brown	vs	Thomas Coon-Hawk.
W. Walker	vs	J. T. Charloe.
Sam'l Rankin	vs	Louis Lumpy.
John Gibson	vs	White-Crow.

Saturday, 17.—Sent my letters to the P. O. by H. C. Long.¹ Rec'd a letter from Major Moseley.

Friday, 30.—The day set for the trial of Killbuck Standingstone, charged with the murder of Isaac Peacock, who came to his end in a drunken brawl, but by what means is not yet known. The Council sent for me to attend the trial, but the family being quite ill, I begged off.

M^r Barker spent the day with me in social chat.

Saturday, 31.—Heard that the Court failing to get a Jury, the trial of the accused was postponed.

AUGUST, 1852.

Tuesday, 3.—The council in session; sent me a written request to prosecute Killbuck Standingstone at the ensuing trial. Replied that I would attend.

Wednesday, 4.—Attended the trial and entered upon my duties as Prosecutor. After empannelling the Jury, proceeded to examine a large number of witnesses; opened my Case and concluded my argument, and was followed by J. W. Gray Eyes for the defence. The case was then submitted to the Jury [at] 5 o'clock P. M., then [I] came home.

Thursday, 5.—Daniel McNeal came to go to work for me.

¹ Henry Clay Long was a son of Alexander Long, and a brother of Irving and Isaac Long. Alexander Long was born in October, 1793, came West with the Wyandots and died in the "Wyandot Purchase," October 13, 1851. H. C. Long married a Miss Hunter, sister to Zelinda M. Hunter, the second wife of Silas Armstrong. He did not remove to the Indian Territory with the Wyandots when they resumed their tribal relations, but remained in Wyandotte County, Kansas. His property increased in value and made him wealthy. He died in California about 1886, and was brought home and buried in Huron Place Cemetery, but afterwards removed to the Wyandot Cemetery, near Quindaro. He was a member of Wyandotte Lodge No. 3, A. F. & A. M.

Learned that the Jury in Killbuck Standingstone's case remained cooped up all night without agreeing.

The Jury rendered their verdict to-day, *Manslaughter*.

Sunday, 8.—Mr Watkins called this evening and spent an hour. "Old Bullion is elected to Congress.

Tuesday, 10.—This being the second Tuesday in August, our National election comes off to-day, with a *Barbecue*.

Attended the election and Barbecue. The following is the result of the election:

John D. Brown, Principal Chief.

James Washington.	} Councillors.
M. Mudeater.	
John Hat [Tauromee].	
John S. Bearskin.	

[Legislative] Committee.

S. Armstrong.	W. Walker.
Isaac Brown.	White-Crow.

Louis Lumpy.¹

Sheriffs,

Wm. Gibson and John Sarrahess.

Magistrate.

J. W. Gray Eyes.

Wednesday, 11.—Went to Kansas for a Doctor and some family stores.

Arrived at Kansas, Agent Chenault, with a large deputation of Sacs and Foxes on their way to Washington.

Learned that Clark and Mudeater landed yesterday evening at the upper landing. What has become of their colleague and conductor?

Saturday, 14.—Mr A. Guthrie called upon us to-day.

Isaiah Walker called in the evening and delivered our mail.

¹ The name *Lumpy* was formerly written *Lump-On-The-Head*, and is a name belonging to the Deer Clan and refers to the horns on the head of the deer when they first begin to grow; they are then two large lumps.

Sometime about midnight he returned and informed us that M^{rs} Garrett was attacked with a bleeding at the nose which could not be arrested. Harriet got up, dressed and went over and he went after Dr. Wright, but failed in finding him.

Sunday, 15.—At the dawn of day I went over; but she had succeeded in stopping it.

Dr. Gemundt called upon us to-day, having recovered from his illness.

Wednesday, 18.—My Ox “Brin” Committed a breach upon my corn field last night. After having gorged himself sufficiently, he quietly gave himself up to repose. I awakened him with a heavy charge of Coarse Salt in his flank, which had somewhat of a stimulating effect upon his Cuticle; and while smarting, snorting rearing and pitching, I gave him a second, which instead of quieting him only made him worse. I have now got the Maurauder chained up to the Bar post, where he can quietly digest his Corn.

Friday, 20.—The Girls went over to Kansas for some medicines and other supplies; but as usual got no mail. My execrations upon these infamous Mail Contractors!

M^r and M^{rs} Dofflemeyer gone to the Shawnee Camp Meeting.

Three Gentlemen, travelers, called this evening and wished to stay all night, but owing to our illness we advised them to stay at M^{rs} Garrett's. They accordingly went there.

Saturday, 21.—They called over this morning and proved to be M^r McDaniel of St. Louis and two Brothers by the name of Thompson.

Monday, 23.—Heard of the death of B. A. Moseley, who died at sea, on his return from California.

Thursday, 24.—Major Moseley called and stayed all night. There is some mistake about the death of Beverly A. Moseley.

Learned that Joel W. Garrett had arrived.

Saturday, 28.—M^{rs} W. and I made preparation to go to Kansas. We set out about 9 o'clock and returned at 2 p. m. somewhat fatigued. Learned while gone that the widow G. D. Williams died this morning at 4 o'clock. The Delaware Camp Meeting going on.

Sunday, 29.—There being no Clergyman to officiate at the Church, we all staid at home. In the evening M^{rs} Hannah Norton called and spent an hour with us.

Monday, 30.—Joel W. Garrett and Isaiah [Walker] called over and spent an hour with us.

Night—And no doctor. Well, let them take my execrations and maledictions instead of a fee.

Tuesday, 31.—12 o'clock M., M^r Dofflemeyer returned from the Delaware Camp Meeting.

M^r Muir and McNeal working at the Camp ground, building us a shantee.

The weather is now remarkably dry and the face of nature now begins to assume the livery of autumn. Autumn leaves around me falling remind me that I am nearing "the sear and yellow leaf" of life.

Evening—No Doctor to visit M^r Gilmore. Fears are entertained that his Fever will assume the Typhoid form, and if it should, he being so very weak, it will run him hard.

SEPTEMBER, 1852.

Thursday, 2.—Nature has this morning put on her gay green livery. The Sun rising in Golden Splendor. Cool and pleasant day.

M^r Gilmore continues sick. His fever seems to have assumed, as I feared, the Typhoid form, and growing weaker every day. My own health is poor.

Friday, 3.—M^r G. some better this morning, but this is all delusive, nothing permanent.

Our folks all in a bustle, house up side down, moving to the Camp ground, Cooking utensils, provisions, Bed clothes, &c.

In the evening I went to the *consecrated ground* and found a very comfortable shantee erected. Staid all night.

Saturday, 4.—Splendid morning. Interesting religious exercises, with short intermissions, during the day.

Splendid weather:—clear blue sky, pure air, good for invalids and the infirm.

Sunday, 5.—At the Camp ground. The great Conch¹ shell was Sounded as the Signal to rise from our beds and prepare for morning devotions and breakfast.

At 11 o'clock A. M. a large Congregation assembled under the Arbor prepared for the occasion and was addressed by a Rev. M^r Love of St. Louis in a sermon of great eloquence and ability. The weather continued beautiful thro' the day. Devotional exercises were continued thro' the day, and till a late hour in the night. Several new members were received into the Church.

Monday, 6.—Weather fine. Meeting continued.

Some [time] in the night our negro boy, Henry, left his bed and mysteriously disappeared. He had been complaining of illness. When daylight appeared a general alarm was raised and search instituted. His track was at length found, [and indicated that he was] making his way West. About 8 o'clock A. M. John Sarraheess bro't him in. He had wandered off three miles. He could give no rational account of himself. He must have been deranged at the time he went out.

Meetings were kept up thro' the day.

M^{rs} Garrett of Ohio, and family, arrived this evening.

Tuesday, 7.—After the Morning Meeting, the Camp

¹ This shell is now in my possession. It was in the possession of the Wyandots for centuries. It is much worn and decayed, so much so that it can be sounded only with much difficulty.

Meeting was adjourned *sine die*. The tents were struck and [soon] all [were] homeward bound. Dr. Gemundt paid us a visit.

Saturday, 11.—Just learned that poor Jacob Charloe was dead. Alas! we could easier have spared a better man.

Sunday, 12.—Wrote to Rev. John F. Peerey on Church matters.

Reading Schoolcraft's "THIRTY YEARS AMONG THE INDIAN TRIBES." I am disappointed in the character of the work. It is made up from extracts from his journals and his correspondence. Conversations with distinguished men, literary men, on Indian philology, etc—nothing Historical—nothing new on Aboriginal History.

M^{rs} Nancy Garrett called over this evening and took tea. Jacob Charloe was buried to-day at 11 o'clock.

Tuesday, 14.—We have had no rain to-day, tho' it has been cloudy all day.

Rec'd a dispatch from Maj. Moseley, informing me of the death of M^r Perkins, the Shawnee Blacksmith.

Thursday, 16.—M^{rs} W. set out for a little town down the river, called by some Richfield, and by others St. Bernard, to visit a Dr. Carter who has the reputation of being skillful in all sorts of Cutaneous diseases, for the purpose of being treated for a fiery and angry irritation [that is] breaking out upon her face.

M. R. Walker returned this morning [from] the Circuit Court and reports that Isaiah Zane, indicted for the murder of John Kayrohoo, was sentenced to ten years imprisonment in the Penitentiary. He deserved no less than this.

Sunday, 19.—Engaged in writing a long epistle to the Northern Bishop who is to preside at the Northern Conference in St. Louis, upon their Missionary operations among the Indians.

Monday, 20.—In the evening F. A. Hicks and John D. Brown called and spent the evening in interesting chat.

Tuesday, 21.—Rec'd a communication from Major Moseley enclosing some blank receipts to be signed by the assistant Smith and the Ferryman.

No money to pay M^r Interpreter.

Thursday, 23.—Dofflemeyer [is] running round the country like an insane man. No one can understand his movements. To-morrow he and his spleeny . . . are off for Platte. What takes them there, is beyond my power of divination. Nor am I much concerned, whether he be sane or insane. His conduct, to say the least of it, is quite strange. Could he have had an over gorge of Saur-Kraut?

He came over to pay me a visit at candle-light and staid till a late hour. I think he is *sane*.

Friday, 24.—Cloudy and raining. My Rheumatism a little better.

Learned that George Punch, of Ohio Penitentiary memory, has the small pox. Finished my letter to the Bishop, making sixteen pages, in which I have attempted to show up these canting Methodist Abolitionists in their true colors. The preachers of the Northern Methodist Church prowling round on this frontier are the most contemptible, hypocritical, canting set of fellows that ever disgraced Christianity.

Saturday, 25.—M^r and M^{rs} Dofflemeyer started for Platte this morning.

Sunday, 26.—McNeal came home from Kansas. In the dumps. Went off in the evening; where he went, I know not. But suppose he is "on a burst."

Monday, 27.—McNeal came home this morning, bearing all the appearances [of] a night's debauch. Informed me he was going *to quit*. I told him I was very well satisfied. His clothes were packed up and he *put out*. Poor fellow! he is one of the most indolent, trifling, worthless young men I have ever seen.

Presley Muir called over this evening in company with his Father, who has come out on a visit. "A fine old Gentleman, all of the olden time."

Tuesday, 28.—Rec'd a dispatch from Maj. Moseley, by P. D. Clark, informing me that he had received orders from the Superintendent to repair to St. Louis for the Annuity due his Agency.

Wednesday, 29.—M^{rs} W. and I went to Kansas, made some purchases of family stores, medicines, etc.

Dined at M^r Geer's. F. Cotter died this forenoon. Came home in the evening somewhat fatigued.

OCTOBER, 1852.

Friday, 1.—Wrote to I. C.—on a mystery. 4th Street, St. Louis.

Went to Kansas and assisted M^r Geer P. M. in making out the Account for his P. O. Did not get done. Came home in the evening. Cloudy and damp all day.

M^r Porter commenced work to-day.

Saturday, 2.—Learned yesterday that my worthy neighbor and present Pastor, D. Dofflemeyer was reappointed to this charge, and Rev. M^r Barker to the Delaware Mission and Rev. John F. Peerey, Presiding Elder.

At 4 P. M. F. A. Hicks called for Sophia, who owing to ill health, intends spending the winter with her relations in Hardin County, Ohio. Altho' it was raining, yet she and Miss Huldah & Harriet boarded his carriage and put out. Miss Huldah is going to Harrisonville to spend her winter. Sophia will go in company with M^r J. S. Dawson who is going into that County. She will reside with her Uncle and Aunt, M^r and M^{rs} Smalley.

Sunday, 3.—Raining. After breakfast the sky became clear. I then concluded I would go to Kansas and attend the dedication of the new Methodist Church by Bishop

Payne. We rigg'd up and set out, Martha accompanying me. The Bishop did not arrive, but a sermon, and an able one was preached by M^r McAnelly, Editor of the St. Louis Christian Advocate. Turned out to be quite a pleasant day.

Monday, 4.—Went to Kansas and learned that M^r Dawson and Sophia got off this morning at 4 o'clock on board the "Brunette".

Came home in the evening. John Brown still very sick.

Tuesday, 5.—Cloudy morning and red in the East.

Went up in company with M. R. Walker to the Council held at Matthew Mudeater's to make out the Annuity Pay Roll. Adjourned at sunset without completing our Roll. Came home sick; had a high Fever.

Wednesday, 6.—Went again to M. M.'s to resume the Pay roll, and completed it in the afternoon. J. D. Brown getting better.

Thursday, 7.—Commenced copying the triplicate Pay rolls. F. A. Hicks bro't home our Parlor Stove.

Friday, 8.—Resumed Copying the Pay Roll. Sent Porter to Kansas for some family stores. He came home sick.

In the evening I had a severe chill which was succeeded by a burning fever, which lasted nearly all night. Oh! such a night! no poor devil suffered more than I did. Continued copying the Pay Roll.

Saturday, 9.—M^{rs} W. and Harriet went down to Kansas. On their return, gave us information of an atrocious and bloody recontre between M^r Alfred Dale and a man, name unknown, a stranger, which took place this forenoon. M^r Dale received a horrible gash in the lower part of the abdominal region, letting out his intestines. His wound is regarded by the physicians as mortal. Finished my Pay Rolls.

Sunday, 10.—M^r Gilmore set out this morning for Kansas,

in company with P. Muir, intending to take the Stage for Independence; there to remain under the medical treatment of Doctor Twyman for the Intermittent Fever.

Heard, on the return of M^r Muir, that M^r Dale was alive yet.

This evening I escaped my chill and passed a quiet and comfortable night.

Monday, 11.—Cloudy and threatening rain. 1 o'clock P. M., our folks came home in the midst of a shower. They report that M^r Dale is still alive and getting better.

Tuesday, 12.—M^r Porter tore up our hearth, refilled, reset and contracted the width of the fire place to cure it of its smoking propensity. It has in some degree obviated the difficulty.

Attended the election for delegate to Congress from Nebraska Territory. A. Guthrie received the entire vote polled.

Came home chilled and fatigued; took my last dose of quinine and spirits.

The Doffles got home. Now, stay at home.

Wednesday, 13.—Wrote to Wm. Flemming on business, and to Lyman C. Draper of Philadelphia on Indian History. M^r Porter set up our Stove in the parlor.

Doffle off again. What a fellow!

Thursday, 14.—Expecting Major Moseley to land at Kansas to-day, I went down and waited till evening, but no Boat. While there, I called upon Mr. Dale and found him in a fair way of recovering. Came home after dark.

Friday, 15.—S. Armstrong called this morning and informed me that he had seen Major Moseley since his arrival and [that he had] sent word requesting me to send the Pay Rolls over to his House. I accordingly employed Samuel Rankin to go as Messenger. Shortly after Samuel left, Peter D. Clark arrived bearing a dispatch from him to the

same effect as that sent verbally by S. Armstrong. *He must be in earnest, and in a hurry.*

Saturday, 16.—Went down to attend, by invitation, the Council. The subject up was the Annuity payment. Came home in the evening.

Sunday, 17.—Sent a dispatch to Major Moseley by Sheriff Gibson.

Martha and [I] rode down to Kansas to hear Bishop Payne preach the dedication sermon for the new Church. A very large Congregation. The Church being in debt, a subscription was raised, payable the first day of January next, and upwards of *One thousand* dollars was subscribed. We came home.

At 8 o'clock P. M. the Sheriff returned with a dispatch from Maj. Moseley, fixing upon Tuesday for the payment.

Monday, 18.—M. R. Walker returned last night from Cass County.

I went to the Council House, and finding nobody there, came home again.

Tuesday, 19.—To-day Major Moseley pays out the Wyandott Annuity. Creditors and debtors have much to do—business on hand.

Went down to the Council House and found Major Moseley on the ground ready with his *dust*. Commenced 12 M. paying out, and without finishing, adjourned at sunset. Sent Henry Warpole to the Calaboose for drunkenness and disorderly conduct.

Wednesday, 20.—Resumed the payment of the Annuity and closed the Pay Roll at 2 P. M., and Major Moseley delivered a short valedictory to the Council and the nation—not expecting to pay another Annuity.

M^{rs} W. went to take a Boat for Richfield to see her Physician.

The Council proceeded to settle up their public liabilities. Adjourned till next Tuesday.

Thursday, 21.—I am tortured with the Rheumatism in my left hip. M^{rs} Dofflemeyer spent the day with us. Writing a long letter to Sophia.

Friday, 22.—Rode out to M^{rs} Rankin's to settle up some money matters. Came home and found the Widow Squeen-dehtee. I settled up my money agency with her also, to her great satisfaction.

Old Connecticut sick again this evening with what he calls the dumb ague.

Saturday, 23.—On going out I found that my old ox, *Brindle*, had broken into my Garden and committed divers mischievous acts upon my fruit trees and shrubbery.

Sunday, 24.—M^{rs} W. came home, escorted by James Patton.

Tuesday, 26.—Went to attend the settling off [of] the public national accounts. Were engaged all day without finishing. Adjourned till to-morrow.

Wednesday, 27.—Went down to resume the auditing of the public accounts. Closed about sunset.

Friday, 29.—We, that is, I and M^{rs} W., have in contemplation a visit to our Estates in Cass County; but the weather being so forbidding that we must wait for a change, as we are both invalids.

A gloomy day, well calculated to generate *ennui* in a Frenchman. Blue devils, green devils.

Sunday, 31.—Our folks gone to Church. M^{rs} Hannah Norton called in and handed me a letter sent over from the P. O. It proved to be one from my Agent, Col. Goodin, enclosing a draft for \$133.64.

Mr Guthrie called and dined with us. We discussed politics, especially the election of delegate for Nebraska Territory.

NOVEMBER, 1852.

Monday, 1.—M^{rs} W. and I rigged up our horses and set out for Cass County to see to our Estates. Went as far as Westport and staid all night at Wesley Garrett's.

The Shawnee payment going on.

Tuesday, 2.—Resumed our journey—a cold morning. Reached M^r Richard Berry's, 18 miles, [and] being fatigued, staid all night. In the morning, the 3rd,* raining; wind from the N. E. Notwithstanding the weather looked so unpromising, we set out on the boundless prairie. In the afternoon the sky became clear and the wind fell, and it became a pleasant afternoon. Reached the Farm about sunset,—distance, 23 miles.

* Here I have committed a *Faux pas*.

Wednesday, 3.—Rained and stormed the whole day. I had no chance of riding out and visiting the neighbors. We kept close quarters all day. Our tenant has raised a fine crop of Corn and plenty of vegetables. I am better pleased now than before, with my farm.

Thursday, 4.—The storm continues furiously. I was desirous of visiting my Grand River land, but to ride out on such a day would be martyrdom. Kept housed up all day. Entered into another bargain with M^r Shipley for two year's farming at \$40. per annum, he keeping the land clear of taxes.

Friday, 5.—Started for home. A cold, raw, windy morning. Suffering with Rheumatism. Came to Berry's and staid all night.

Our Host is a Case—quisical, jocular, garrulous and humorous: a man well fitted for a frontier life.

Here I have committed an egregious blunder. Thursday and Friday we staid at the Farm, and, as already stated, it stormed all the time. We did not start home on Friday, as stated above, but on—

Saturday, 6.—And [we] came to Mr Berry's.

Sunday, 7.—Reached home at 4 P. M. Found all well. Truly glad to get home.

Friday, 19.—I learned on yesterday that Doctor Clipper, the Northern Preacher, and his lady arrived on Tuesday last. He succeeds Rev. James Witten as preacher in charge of the *pitiful faction here*. I hope the Doctor will demean himself, as a preacher of the Gospel, better than his *degraded* "predecessor," who rendered himself notorious as wanting the jewel, veracity. Poor degraded man he is sent to another field of labor. He could not be tolerated here any longer. He became known, hence he was shipped to another field,—whence he could, at least, for twelve months impose upon the ignorant, his "base coin."¹

Saturday, 20.—Went to Kansas in company with A. Guthrie. Rain, snow, sleet. In the evening the storm increased in violence, and I came home in the midst of a perfect "*pour down*," after dark.

DECEMBER, 1852.

Wednesday, 1.—This day at 2 o'clock P. M., my old and tried friend, James Washington,² departed this life—aged 65.

¹ This is an injustice to Mr. Witten. He was a good man of more than average ability. He was a Virginian (born in Tazewell County), and his family was closely related by blood to that of Lord Baltimore. He was a close kinsman to William Cecil Price of Springfield, Mo.; his mother was a Cecil. He remained in the M. E. Church, after the division, and this caused many of his relatives, who were slave-holders, to condemn him. His brother Thomas was one of the founders of Portland, Oregon.

² The following biographical sketch was written by Governor Walker. The friend that gave him the information was John Hicks, who died a little latter. (See note 1, page 373). Governor Walker was mistaken in his statement that Washington was a full-blood. He was a descendant of the famous Chief, Half King, and was not more than a half-blood:

"Died of pneumonia at his residence in Wyandott, December 1, at the hour of 2 P. M., James Washington, one of the oldest Councilors of the Wyandott Nation, in the 65th year of his age. The subject of this brief sketch was a full-blooded Wyandott belonging to that subdivision of the nation into tribes or clans known as the 'Beaver tribe.' From my first acquaintance with him as an official member of the Church I found him a firm, inflexible and consistent Christian. Rarely if ever, cast down with discouragement and as rarely carried away with any excess of excitement—not on the hill top

Tuesday, 7.—Rec'd a summons from the Principal Chief, ordering a meeting of the Legislative Committee.

The Committee convened and organized by the appointment of Jacob White-Crow as Chairman, and then proceeded to the usual preliminary business.

Saturday, 11.—Went to attend the Council, and there learned that a murder had been perpetrated the night before, in a drunken brawl, by John Coon, Jr. and Martin Big-Arms, upon the person of Curtis Punch. Both [were] committed for trial. John Hicks, Jr. was elected to supply the vacancy in the Council caused by the death of James Washington. Wrote to A. Guthrie.

one day and in 'the slough of despond' the next. In his religious profession he was truly like an even *spun thread*.

"I have been kindly furnished by an intimate friend of the deceased with a Biographical sketch; from which I will make [excerpts]. 'I became acquainted with my friend in the summer of 1814. He did not manifest a disposition to take part in the councils of the nation, but on the contrary shun'd public notice, preferring his former pursuit, the chase, to that of listening to the eloquence of chiefs and councilors or making any attempts at public speaking himself—preferring the quiet camp fire with a few of his friends in the deep dark forest to the noise and bustle of the council fire. He was, however frequently elected by the chiefs of that day as confidential messenger or bearer of important speeches in their diplomatic intercourse. The old chiefs looked upon him as, (to use their own peculiar expression,) he was a *discreet and prudent young man*. Sometime in the winter of 1822 & 23, he was bro't under serious awakenings thro' the ministry of Rev. J. B. F. and sometime after was rec'd into the Church. At what time he experienced a change of heart and obtained the evidence of his acceptance I know not. As the first I knew of the change that had taken place in my friend's life was at a prayer meeting at a private house. As I approached the house I was astonished and amazed at recognizing my friend's Lion like voice employed in the delivery of an animated and stirring exhortation. He gave indisputable evidences of genuine piety and was at the proper time placed in charge of a class, and continued [in] that position the remainder of his life. In 1832 he was elected a councilor and served one term as principal Chief of the nation. Afterwards continued as Councilor of the nation till his death. I have been associated with him in public life for twenty years and can say with truth, he was a man you could with safety confide in. I have seen him often placed in situations the most trying to a man's integrity and veracity—situations which would determine the stuff and material he is made of, but Washington invariably came out triumphant and at the same time came unscathed. He was one of nature's noblemen, hallowed and purified by the Christian religion.' Such briefly is the account given by his friend of his early history. Washington died as he lived enjoying the confidence in peace with God and his fellow men. He exhorted all who visited him to perseverance and faithfulness especially Brother J. D. Brown, the present principal Chief, who called to see him when very low. He committed his poor blind wife and his family to the God of the fatherless and widow, gathered up his feet and departed from among men to enter upon his reward."

Monday, 13.—Old Connecticut sick again. Attended a night session of the Legislative Committee. Came home at 11 o'clock.

Tuesday, 14.—By my nocturnal labors and exposures I have bro't my old complaint back again. I have a most acute Rheumatism in my right shoulder. Attended the joint meeting of the Council and Legislative Committee and elected Nicholas Cotter Ferryman for 1853. I notified Bryan Shehea, a roving, vagabond Irishman to leave the Territory.

Wednesday, 15.—Went over and notified Jonny O'Bludgeon to leave the territory within fifteen days.

M^{rs} Mary Ann Garrett and Miss Sarah Zane spent the afternoon with us.

Friday, 17.—Went to attend the trial of John Coon. Was appointed by the Council public prosecutor, and S. Armstrong was retained as counsel for the defence. The case was submitted to the Jury about dusk, and I came away.

Saturday, 18.—Staid at home all day. Quarterly Meeting commenced to-day.

Sunday, 19.—The *old widow Mononcue*¹ died last night.

Went to Church. There learned that the verdict of the Jury was, "murder in the first degree." This was wrong. It is not in accordance with the evidence. He could not be convicted of anything more than "Manslaughter." But such is the verdict.

Monday, 20.—M^r Duffle[meyer], M^r Barker & Son, Jonny O'Bludgeon, John Pipe and M^{rs} Guthrie called upon us this morning. Company enough for one morning. Sent my letters by Jonny to the Westport P. O. Went down in the evening to attend the session of the Legislative Committee. No quorum appearing, we adjourned at 9 o'clock.

¹ The wife of the Mononcue spoken of so often by Finley in his "History of the Wyandot Mission."

Sunday, 26.—Old Connecticut was found by our niggers lying in the mud about fifty rods from the House stiff and nearly dead. M^r Garrett and M^r Cox yoked up the Oxen and hauled him down to the House. He was then placed before the fire and thawed out. It took the whole night to bring him to consciousness. And then the impudent beast denied being drunk—said he had a fit. I being absent at the time, M^{rs} W. ordered him to leave the house—he refused to go; she thereupon made complaint to the Principal Chief, who ordere[d] the Sheriffs to take him and set him across the line, which was accordingly done. So ended our connection with Old Connecticut.¹ He is without exception the greatest glutton—beast, and the most uncivilized white man I ever saw.

Monday, 27.—Attacked violently with the *winter fever*. Dr. Wright attending on me—blisters, nauseating doses.

JANUARY, 1853.

Sunday, 9.—Went to Church to hear M. Scarritt's funeral sermon on James Washington.

Monday, 10.—Went up to write John Hicks' will. He is fast sinking and cannot survive much longer.

Tuesday, 11.—Drew up a petition to the Council praying that body to restrain Dr. Clipper from opening a Missionary Establishment in our territory as unnecessary and useless.

Thursday, 13.—When shall we behold the sun again?

Friday, 14.—Cloudy as usual. Well, I incline to the opinion that the sun has taken his departure and located himself on the other side of the Sierra Nevada, in the region of California, attracted thither no doubt by the Gold that abounds in that country. We had a new moon on last Sunday, but it has not been seen. What has become of it? gone too?

Went and spent the evening with M. R. W. Clear night and for the first time, got a sight of Old Luna.

¹ A Mr. Porter.

Saturday, 15.—Presley Muir came and cut and hauled some wood. I went to attend a night session of the Council, where the arrangements were made for the public execution of John Coon, Jr., on Tuesday, the 18th instant. Came home at 11 o'clock at night.

Sunday, 16.—All feeling unwell, none went to Church but Harriet.

Monday, 17.—Went in company with M. R. W. to select the ground for the public execution of the criminal.

P. Muir butchered our hogs—Aggregate weight 698 lbs, Attended an extra night session of the Council.

Tuesday, 18.—Clear and cold morning. Attended at the Council House.

At 1 o'clock the procession was formed at the Jail, the prisoner bro't and placed in a Wagon and proceeded to the place of execution. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 o'clock P. M., the executioners, *James Barnet, Tho. Pipe, Isaac Zane, H. C. Long, Louis Lumpey* and *Joseph White*, under the command of M. R. Walker and Philip Brown, took their position..... the signal was given and [the executioners] fired—the prisoner fell and was buried. Such was the fate and end of John Coon, Jr., a badly raised boy. He may be justly said to be the victim of a wicked and ungodly mother.

Wednesday, 19.—Wrote to Major Moseley at Sarcoxie, upon matters appertaining to the Agency, especially about the movements of the Northern Missionary.

Thursday, 20.—John Lynch come and made some alterations in our chimney to prevent its smoking. He succeeded to admiration in Curing the evil.

Friday, 21.—Wrote to A. Guthrie.

Monday, 24.—Commenced yesterday a communication for Cist's Advertiser. Finished it to-day. Attended the night session of the Legislative Committee. Adjourned at 12 o'clock. Clear and moonlight.

Tuesday, 25.—At 1 P. M. went to attend the session of the Committee.

Wednesday, 26.—Sent by Jonny O'Bludgeon for our mail. But he had not returned last evening at dark. We greatly fear he has got into a sprej.

Thursday, 27.—Clear and cold morning. No Jonny O'Bludgeon yet. The rascal has got into a drunken frolic, and has probably lost our mail.

M^{rs} Z. Armstrong, Miss Hunter, and the Misses Garret [came] on a visit to spend the afternoon with us.

Friday, 28.—Paid M. R. W. a visit. Heard of the death of Fighter. P. Muir called. No news of "Mister O'Bludgeon."

Monday, 31.—Wrote to A. Guthrie. Attended the night session of the Legislative Committee. W. Mulkey supposed to be married to-day to Miss D.

FEBRUARY, 1853.

Tuesday, 1.—M^{rs} W. gone to K. and Harriet and Mary Garrett to M^r Mulkey's infair at Esquire W. M. McGee's Mansion.

Wednesday, 2.—Harriet returned from the party at McGee's.

Thursday, 3.—At 2 P. M. went to attend the session of the Committee, but found no quorum. Came home.

Sunday, 6.—Paid a visit to M. R. W. Found his maimed foot getting well. The Kansas River frozen over above the Ferry. M^r Dofflemeyer called this evening in company with John D. Brown, for the purpose of having written what was seen by the latter while in "a trance" last fall during his illness. I accordingly wrote what was seen.

It smacks very much of transcendentalism and wild insanity. But enthusiasts will and must have their whims.

Tuesday, 8.—Rec'd a letter from Nimrod McKnight, an-

nouncing the death of M^{rs} Hannah Barrett, aged 79. Heard that Edmund F. Chouteau died on Monday at 2 A. M.

Thursday, 10.—Went to attend the session of the Legislative Committee. Came home with a severe *nervous headache*. Wrote to N. McKnight and Thomas Moseley, Indian Agents.

Sunday, 13.—In the evening went with [thè] family to witness the nuptials between Isaiah P. Walker and Miss Mary Williams, at 4 o'clock, at the house of Silas Armstrong. A very respectable company was assembled and everything passed off very agreeably.

Monday, 14.—At 12 o'clock Meridian the venerable *John Hicks*¹ departed this life [aged] upwards of 80 years. He

¹ The following biographical sketch was written by Governor Walker:

"Died at his residence in Wyandott Territory, on the 14th inst., at 12 o'clock M., John Hicks, aged upwards of 80 years. The subject of this brief sketch was a half blood. His father was a German, captured during the old Indian war in some part of Maryland, it is supposed, and was in due time regularly adopted into the Wyandott Nation, where he remained all his life. His son John Hicks, was in his youth, accidentally wounded very severely in the right thigh, which, owing to mismanagement, rendered him a cripple for life.

"In the year 1810, he with Between-the-logs, Mononcue, Matthew Peacock and George Punch, was called to the *Council Fire* by Tarhee, the then ruling Sachem of the nation. In this important post he soon distinguished himself for wisdom, firmness and decision. He often detected and exposed the intrigues and machinations of Tecumseh and the Prophet, previous to the late war, in their operations with the Northwestern tribes. He continued in this important post with increased usefulness till the death of Tarhee, when by hereditary right, Da on quot succeeded him as the ruling Chief. Hicks continued in the same relation to the new Chief until the death of the latter in the summer of 1825. It was during his administration that Methodism was first preached among the Wyandotts. Being strongly imbued with the superstitions incident to heathenism, it was sometime before he could be convinced of the truth and reality of this 'New doctrine,' for it was indeed 'New' to him; as all his preconceived notions of the Christian religion were derived from the Romish Church, and not a very promising believer at that. Possessing an inquiring mind and a thirst for knowledge and a disposition to 'Prove all things and hold fast that which is good,' he availed himself of all opportunities when he could get the aid of a good Interpreter, of conversing with well informed Protestants upon religious subjects. In the year 1819 he, with his colleagues above-named (except Da on quot who opposed this new religion bitterly), was received into the Church under the ministry of Rev. James Montgomery. From this period until the close of his pilgrimage he has continued unwavering and steadfast in his religious integrity, showing by his daily walk that the salvation of his own, and the souls of all within his reach was the chief business of his life. His conversation upon religious subjects showed unmistakably that he was *in earnest*—that he meant and felt what he said. He was exact and punctual in his attendance upon all the means of grace and a

was the last of the hereditary Chiefs of the Wyandott nation. He has been for thirty-five years a member of the M. E. Church.

Tuesday, 15.—M^{rs} W. and Harriet rode over to pay a visit to our old friend and neighbor E. T. Peerey, who is laying very low with the Winter Fever. Attended the joint session of the Committee and Council. Both bodies adjourned to attend the Funeral of the late *John Hicks*.

In the evening snowing, and continued till late in the night.

Wednesday, 16.—Went to attend the session of the Committee. Presented to the Council the last Will and testament of John Hicks for probate.

cardinal maxim with him was to "Have no communion with the unfruitful works of darkness but rather to reprove them;" and in reproof he was proverbially severe; yet none acquainted with him could take offence. The ungodly, the persecutor and scoffer have often been made to writhe under the lacerating reproof administered by him. As an Exhorter he was fluent, eloquent and impressive. His mind maintained its vigor till within two or three years ago. Last fall a year, he was selected by the Chiefs to deliver, at the Church, an address on the life and character of a deceased Chief with whom he had been intimate many years. It was in this effort, discovered that his mental faculties were indeed falling into 'the sere and yellow leaf,'—and the gigantic Oak was dying at the top. Mentally and physically, it was evident, he was sinking under the pressure of the hand of time.

"Father Hicks was ill about seven weeks before he died. I visited him about ten days previous to our last Quarterly meeting, when he expressed a desire to have administered to him for the last time, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at that time. His wife remarked that she did not think he would live that long. He seemed to be suddenly roused and said, 'I feel confident that the Lord will spare me till then—yes, I shall live that long.' Upon our arrival at the time appointed for that purpose, we found him drowsy and stupid; but upon hearing our voices, he woke up and recognized us both—Knew our business and was inclined to converse with us, but was too weak. Brother Peerey administered to him the sacred emblems.

"Suffering much and long, he evinced great patience and resignation. In his conversation with all who visited him he invariably stated he was ready to obey the summons at any moment—exhorted his friends to faithfulness in the cause. Thus departed this veteran from his post on the watch tower. The last of the hereditary Chiefs under the old regime of the Wyandott Nation.

"His age and feebleness extreme,
Who shall a helpless worm redeem!
Jesus, my only hope thou art:—
Strength of my failing flesh and heart,
O, could I catch a smile from thee,
And drop into eternity!"

Friday, 18.—Went over to C. B. G.'s and spent some time in social chat with Major Kirby.

Monday, 21.—Went up to appraise White-Wing's farm. Came home. Raining.

Tuesday, 22.—Went and attended the last session of the Committee. Passed the Annual Appropriation Bill and adjourned *sine die*. Hired Monsieur Brouseau to work a while.

Wednesday, 23.—Attended the sale of John Hicks Estate. Came home in the evening.

Friday, 25.—Major Moseley set out for Delaware.

Went at candle-light to attend a Temperance meeting at the Council House. Pretty fair turn out.

Saturday, 26.—Mr Brouseau and Dudley commenced hauling in our corn from the brickyard Field. Wrote an obituary of John Hicks, Sen.¹

MARCH, 1853.

Thursday, 3.—The *worthless Congress* will be disbanded to-night at 12 o'clock. I pray Heaven this Republic will never be again cursed with such another Congress. Received two letters from Sophia informing us that her health was poor, and [that she] wanted to come home. Rec'd one from A. Guthrie upon the subject of our territorial organization.

Friday, 4.—This day Gen. F. Pierce is inaugurated President of the U. S. Friday is an ill day, a day of bad omen.

Saturday, 5.—My birthday! Fifty-three years old! that cannot be. I daily see men who are fourteen and fifteen years my juniors, who look as though they were as many years my seigniors. I am not yet, I trust, "in the sere and yellow leaf;" but how natural for men, when somewhat advanced in life, to vainly imagine they are still in "*the dew of their youth*."

¹ The biographical sketch given in note 1, p. 373.

Monday, 7.—Attended, at night, a temperance Meeting at the Church. Came home at 11 o'clock.

Tuesday, 8.—Mr Broseau went home after dinner; being too stormy to work. Sent by him my letters to the P. O.; one to Judge C., Ph.....a; one to Rev. B. H. Russel, California.

Wednesday, 9.—Sent Dudley to K., who shortly afterwards returned and reported that the ice above the ferry had broken loose and *stove in* the ferry boat and carried her off down the river, with a negro on board.

Thursday, 10.—Sent Dudley again to K. He bro't our mail, with a Telegraphic dispatch announcing Gen. Pierce's Cabinet: Secretary of State, Marcy, of N. Y.; Treasury, Guthrie, Ky.; Interior, McClelland, Mich.; War, Davis, Miss.; Navy, Dobbin, N. C.; P. M. G., Campbell, Penn.; Att'y Gen'l, Cushing, Mass.

Friday, 11.—Sent Dudley after my Frenchman to come to work. Found the rascally Bullfrogeater in Kansas chopping wood in the Street. Went over to sit up with Cyrus Garrett, who is very sick with the Erysipelas. Staid all night. Heard of the death of Henry Warpole and Ann White-Wing. The former died in the woods while hunting.

Saturday, 12.—Sent Sophia's letter to J. Walker for him to enclose \$40 to her. Dudley returned from K. bringing our mail. One letter from Sophia. Her health improving. Rec'd Senate bill organizing Nebraska Territory.¹

Sunday, 13.—Went over to see Cyrus; found him improving. Staid till quite late.

Monday, 14.—Cold and cloudy morning. Therm. 18°. I am apprehensive [that] cold weather is likely to continue thro' this New Moon.

¹ I have been unable to learn anything of this bill. This entry would indicate that it was not the Hall-Richardson bill. But I can come to no other conclusion than that it was.

Answered M. Edwards' letter. Just heard that Tom Coke had inflicted a mortal wound upon Solomon Kayrohoo, with an Iron poker.

Tuesday, 15.—Clear and cold. Therm. 10°. Attended a special session of the Committee. Unpleasant day. Heard of the death of Dr. Gemundt.

Wednesday, 16.—Commenced the copying [of] the Wyandott laws. Warm wind from the south. Cyrus Garrett is still very sick. Typhoid Fever. Therm. 22°.

Thursday, 17.—Went over to see Cyrus Garrett. Found him improving.

Engaged in copying the laws. A perplexing job! Amendments upon amendments come up like "spirits from the vasty deep"; *incoherent, incongruous, and inconsistent* with the original laws. Such are the fruits of having Nin-Kumpoops to make laws.

Attended a Temperance Meeting at the Church. Delivered a speech at the request of the Society. Came home at 11 o'clock at night.

Tuesday, 22.—Attended the session of the Council. Not much done.

Wednesday, 23.—Mr Dofflemeyer commenced whitewashing our House. C. B. Garrett returned home. Also, Hon. A. Guthrie from Washington. Our house *upside down and topsey turvey*.

Thursday, 24.—Mr D. still whitewashing and painting. At 2 P. M. got through, and [I am] heartily glad of it.

Friday, 25.—Cloudy morning; threatening rain. That *filthy, greasy, loafing, poverty stricken, lying Frenchman, Broseau*, has not returned to work. My execrations upon his pate!

Saturday, 26.—Sick. I am unable to tell my complaint. Something like dyspepsia. Feel wretched. Took a dose of

Cook's Pills last night. Derived no advantage from them. Sick all day. Resumed recording the Laws—gave it up.

Sunday, 27.—I feel some better this morning; but my complaint is not done with yet. "The snake is scotched but not killed."

APRIL, 1853.

Thursday, 14.—While in Kansas strong suspicions were excited that a gang of desperadoes was lurking about intent upon robbery and plunder; a person was detailed by the citizens to keep a *look out*. He associated himself with every suspicious person—to chat with each quite familiarly, and [he] finally succeeded in discovering who they were, their plans of operation, and that they had already committed a burglarious robbery upon a store in Parkville. He also ascertained where the goods were concealed, and [that] it was their intention to fire the town of Kansas that night. Prompt measures were then adopted for their arrest. Arrest succeeded arrest till nine were secured. They were sent to Platte City Jail to await their trial. They were a hard looking *set of scamps*.

Saturday, 23.—Commenced writing a review of an editorial which appeared in the "Sandusky Register." It is a most scandalous calumny on the Wyandotts. This is the first instance of any of [the] Corps Editorial in Ohio attacking the Wyandotts.

Sunday, 24.—Finished my fulmination. Visited by E. Garret and Henry Garrett, who staid [a] couple of hours. In the evening the Rev. M^r Jones called upon us.

Wednesday, 27.—M. R. Walker bro't us our mail, among which was a letter from Sophia, announcing to us the astonishing news of her marriage with M^r D. V. Clements, of Hardin County, Ohio, on the 5th instant. Well, *perhaps its for the best*.

Thursday, 28.—Just heard that Tom Coke was killed by Tom Mononcue, while returning from Parkville. Learned, as yet, no particulars.

Saturday, 30.—Sent by Adam Brown for our mail, but this was the last we have seen of him. I fear he got on a *burst*, and perhaps lost our mail and himself, too.

MAY, 1853.

Monday, 2.—Finished copying the Wyandott Laws.¹ Felicitatus!

A great temperance meeting at the Church to-night. These Temperance promises and pledges may, peradventure, last till “Dog days,” but I very much doubt it. They are seldom productive of any permanent good.

Tuesday, 10.—Attended the session of the Council. Friday, 13th, appointed for the trial of Thomas Mononcue.

Heard of the removal of Thomas Moseley from the Indian Agency and the appointment of a Mr Robinson from the South West part of the State.

Wednesday, 11.—Wrote a long letter to the California Wyandotts. Wm. Priddee, Presley Muir & Company set out from Wyandott Territory for California, with nearly *two* hundred head of Cattle.

Friday, 13.—This is the day set for the trial of the criminal.

3 o'clock P. M.—Some of the jury and some of the witnesses failing to appear, the trial was postponed till Tuesday the 17th.

Mr George Twyman called this evening.

Monday, 16.—In the evening attended a Temperance meeting at the Church. The person chosen for speaker at a previous meeting not appearing, Mr D——² who always

¹ I have searched for this copy of the Wyandot Laws, but have not found them. They are not among the papers belonging to the Council in the Indian Territory.

² Dofflemeyer.

likes to hear himself talk, took the floor, and with his usual wild and uncouth ranting and horrid screams soon came near driving his audience out of the House, when S. Armstrong interposed and took the floor from him and delivered a short address in Wyandott, after which I followed in English.

Tuesday, 17.—At 12 M. went down to attend the trial of Thomas Mononcue. The jury empanelled and sworn. J. W. Gray Eyes, Prosecutor. M. R. W. and myself for the defence. The case was submitted to the jury at 6 o'clock, and I came home.

Wednesday, 18.—Just learned that the Jury bro't in a verdict of "*Man Slaughter in the Second Degree.*" The Court *unjustly and tyrannically* sentenced him [to] four years solitary confinement.

Sunday, 22.—Went to Church and heard a very good sermon preached by Rev. Thos. Ashby. Invited him and his lady to dine with us.

Tuesday, 24.—Major Moseley and lady came and staid all night, by way of a farewell visit; he having been superseded in the Kansas Agency by a M^r Robinson, of Polk County, Mo

Thursday, 26.—Diable! Those *drunken vagabondish* ferry-men have the lost Ferry Boat. They say some one or two broke the lock last night and took the Boat, no one knows where. This is too provoking. The rascals have been drunk and lost the Boat themselves. Now we have another *Embargo*.

Sunday, 29.—To-day a Union Sunday School celebration comes off in Kansas.

Our Ferry Boat was found and recovered near Randolph.

Monday, 30.—Major Moseley came over in company with Major Robinson, his successor in office, and introduced him to us employees and such others as were present. Beautiful evening, tho' cool.

Tuesday, 31.—Sent a copy of the Ohio State Journal containing my vindication of the Wyandotts, for republication in the "Missouri Democrat." M^{rs} Priestley & M^{rs} Dofflemeyer [came] on a visit [to us] and dined. Wrote to David Preston & Co., of Detroit, on the subject of Bounty lands.

JUNE, 1853.

Monday, 6.—M^{rs} W. and I went to Kansas to attend to some indispensable business. While in Kansas we found that "the Campbells" were not only "coming," but had actually come. We had a regular family interview.

Saturday, 11.—Dressed out my Hominy Corn.

Harriet, Miss Armstrong, Miss Hunter & Miss Ninnie went up to Muncie town and staid all night.

Sunday, 12.—Our Clergyman being absent, there were no religious services at the Church. And as a consequence we all staid at home.

A strange sort of Genius called upon me to-day, an eccentric, wild and impulsive German. He was making researches into the various Aboriginal dialects. I exhibited to him such works as I had on hand, from which he made extracts, His English was bad and, if possible, his French was worse, He was in the outward man, rough and filthy.

Friday, 17.—In the evening Harriet found two swarms of bees hanging [to] a walnut tree. We turned to and prepared a couple of Gums and secured them. In the night we removed them to the Garden where they may accumulate as much honey as they please.

Sunday, 19.—M^r Dofflemeyer and Lady returned last evening from Platte County. The Northern Quarterly Meeting going on.

Wednesday, 22.—M^{rs} Nancy Pipe is very sick. Having had a paralytic stroke on her left side, rendering her insensible.

Thursday, 23.—M^{rs} Nancy Pipe continues insensible.

Friday, 24.—Harriet just returned from sitting up with the sick. Nancy no better.

Riddlesbarger Charivari'd last night.

Saturday, 25.—At dark news came that Nancy Pipe was dying. Harriet and I went over. She died at 20 minutes past 10 o'clock P. M. We sat up all night.

Sunday, 26.—After breakfast we returned to the afflicted family. A large concourse of our people assembled, and Rev. M^r Dofflemeyer delivered an address. Funeral to take place at 10 o'clock to-morrow.

Monday, 27.—Attended the funeral. The burial took place at 12 M.

Thursday, 30.—M^r & M^{rs} Clement arrived. A happy meeting among the folks.

JULY, 1853.

Tuesday, 12.—Attended the nominating Convention. The following is the result:

John D. Brown	vs	Tauromee.
Matthew Mudeater	vs	John Arms.
John Sarrahess	vs	Geo. I. Clark.
John S. Bearskin	vs	John Hicks.
John Gibson	vs	Thos. Pipe.

Wednesday, 13.—Capt. Black-Sheep called upon us to-day.

Friday, 22.—Martha gone to Kansas and Harriet to Muncie town.¹

Monday, 25.—Cool and cloudy morning. Resumed cutting my grass. Warm thro' the day. Sent Harriet to Kansas for some medicines for M^r C. who has every other day a chill.

In the evening three Gentlemen rode up and enquired if

¹ Now Muncie P. O., Wyandotte County, Kansas.

W. W. resided here. Upon being answered in the affirmative they stated they wished to stay all night. I sent them to Mr C. B. G.'s.

They said they were delegates to the Rail Road Meeting, in Nebraska, on the 26th inst. I would gladly have entertained them, but owing to family sickness I was compelled to send them where I did.

Tuesday, 26.—Very cool and clear.

Went over to C. B. G.'s and got my scythe ground.

Warm and sultry.

On yesterday morning *One Hundred Snakes Standing-stone* died of *Mania a potu*.

At noon a messenger was sent for me to attend the Rail Road Convention. I saddled my horse and rode up to the Wyandott Council House, where I found a large collection of the *habitans* of Nebraska.

The meeting was called to order and organized by the appointment of Wm. P. Birney, of Delaware, President, and Wm. Walker, Sec'y.

A Committee was then appointed to prepare Resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting. James Findley, — Dyer, and Silas Armstrong were appointed.

In accordance with the Resolutions adopted the follow-officers were elected as a provisional government for the Territory:

For Provisional Governor, Wm. Walker; Sec'y of the Territory, G. I. Clark; Councilmen, R. C. Miller, Isaac Mundy, and M. R. Walker.

Resolutions were adopted expressive of the Convention's preference of the *Great Central Rail Road Route*.

A. Guthrie, late delegate, was nominated as the Candidate for re-election. Adjourned.

Thursday, 28.—Clear and cool morning.

M. R. Walker very kindly come to my aid with his hand

and team and hauled and stacked my hay in excellent order.

A. Guthrie called upon and dined with us to-day. Rec'd the printed proceedings of the Nebraska territorial Convention.

Great credit is due to the Proprietors of the "Industrial Luminary" in Parkville for their promptitude in publishing the proceedings in hand bills in so short a time.

Friday, 29.—Staid at home all day and rested by reading and writing.

Saturday, 30.—Clear and warm. Prospect of a warm day. Well, by action of the Convention of Tuesday last I was elected Provisional Governor of this Territory. The first executive act devolving on me, is to issue a Proclamation ordering an election to be held in the different precincts, [for] one delegate to the 33rd Congress.

At 10 o'clock A. M., a smart shower. This will in some degree, cool the ardor of the spectators of the exhibition of the Managerie of living animals in Kansas to-day.

AUGUST, 1853.

Monday, 1.—Issued my proclamation for holding an election in the different precincts in the Territory on the second Tuesday in October, for one Delegate to the 33rd Congress.

Attended at a Council of Wyandotts, Delawares, Shawnees, and Pottowotomies, in Delaware. Came home at midnight. Then [we] had a heavy rain.

Wednesday, 3.—At the request of a friend, I wrote my own brief Biography. While doing so, I was visited again by the crazy German mentioned under the date "Sunday, June 12." While engaged in making extracts from my books, he was taken with a chill. He is evidently partially insane. During the paroxysm of the chill, we discovered that the poor fellow was *sans schme*. He left in the evening.

Saturday, 6.—To-day Senator Atchison holds forth in Parkville, but I cannot go.

Monday, 8.—Geo. I. Clark, Sec'y of the Territory, called this morning and delivered the printed Proclamation (200 copies) for circulation.

Tuesday, 9.—Yoked up my oxen to see how "Old Brin" would work with his new partner, *Darby*. Well, they work charmingly. I am pleased with my team.

This is the day appointed for the Wyandott National election and *Green Corn feast*.

Wednesday 10.—"The Dog Star rages." Therm. 95°.

Hauled a part of our effects to the Camp Ground. I am almost sorry I consented to Camp, the weather being so oppressively hot.

Thursday, 11.—I have lost a day. My reckoning is wrong, but let it pass. Hauled a part of our effects to the Camp Ground to-day, *not yesterday*.

Friday, 12.—Located among "the tents of Israel," but in order to accomplish this, I suffered in the flesh.

Saturday, 13.—Public preaching by Rev. F. Ashby. In the evening we had a shower with a heavy wind creating a considerable clatter among the clap boards of our Shantee.

Sunday, 14.—At 11 o'clock a very large congregation assembled in the Brick Church, filling it to its utmost capacity.

Rev. F. Ashby preached an able sermon from the 1st Psalm.

In the evening a very warm and interesting meeting. The Church members seemed to enjoy the exercises with great gusto.

Monday, 15.—Religious services at short intervals, continued.

The ordinance of Baptism administered to M^r and M^{rs} Priestly, and a large number of children.

At night a warm and devotional prayer meeting.

Tuesday, 16.—Broke up and all moved home.

Thursday, 18.—Commenced a long letter to Presley Muir [who is] in California. Got my Kansas mail. Two Whigs elected from Missouri, Lindsey and Caruthers.

Sunday, 21.—I am vexed and tormented by my neighbor's hogs. A more devilish and unruly set of swine I never saw. Preacher's children and live stock, from such, "*Libera nos, O Domine Deo*"!

Thursday, 25.—Rec'd a letter from Major Robinson on official business.

Saturday, 27.—I must to-day collect some school statistics for Major Robinson.

Sunday, 28.—There being no services at the Church, all having gone to the Delaware Camp Meeting, we staid at home.

Monday, 29.—M^{rs} W., M^r Clement and myself went to Kansas.

Getting sickly in this place. Many *pale faces*.

Wednesday, 31.—M^r Guthrie called upon us to-day. All sick.

SEPTEMBER, 1853.

Friday, 2.—M^{rs} W. very sick. Our physician is very attentive to us in our afflictions, but our *uncouth and clownish preacher* attaches but little value to our *spiritual interests*, as he has never called to see us.

Tuesday, 6.—M^r Commissioner Manypenny came over in company with Rev. Thos. Johnston to pay the Wyandotts a visit. The Council being in session, I introduced him to the Council, to which body he made a short address.

Thursday, 8.—Harriet gone to Lexington and our *eminent divine* to the Conference in St. Louis. Dr. Wright called to see us.

Saturday, 10.—The Territorial Council met and adopted rules and regulations for the election of delegate to Congress from this Territory.

Sunday, 11.—A shower in the morning.

It turned out a pleasant day, but a dull and lonesome day. Not a soul called upon us thro' the day. Wrote the Indian's experience in Spiritual Rappings.

Tuesday, 13.—Attended the session of the Council. There met with Major Robinson, Indian Agent. Came home in the evening.

Friday, 16.—Tauroomee, N. Cotter and Philip Brown called to get some writing done. The two latter [are] going to California.

Tuesday, 27.—D. Dofflemeyer returned from St. Louis Conference, *that's all* about him.

OCTOBER, 1853.

Tuesday, 4.—Attended the session of the Council. Harriet returned home from Lexington, Mo.

A. L. Gilstrap, Bloomington, Mo.

The above is the address of a Gentleman who called upon me and spent the evening. He has been exploring Nebraska Territory with a view of settling.

Thursday, 6.—Rec'd a letter from Maj. Robinson, informing me that Com. Manypenny wished to have an interview with the Council to-morrow.

Friday, 7.—Attended a Council called by the Com. of Indian Affairs. Speeches were passed between the parties on the subject of the Territorial organization, selling out to the Gov't.

Saturday, 8.—Completed my second Epistle to the Ohio State Journal on Territorial Affairs. Then hunted up my villainous horses. Harriet gone to Kansas for our mail. Attended a called National Council.

Sunday, 9.—Harriet went to Sabbath School. M. R. W., M^{rs} M. Garrett, and M^{rs} Sarah Garrett called upon us and spent an hour in social chat.

Monday, 10.—Went to attend a special session of the Council.

Tuesday, 11.—Attended the election for delegate to Congress, for Wyandott precinct. Fifty-one votes only were polled.

A. Guthrie,	33
Tom Johnston,	18

The priesthood of the M. E. Church made unusual exertions to obtain a majority for their *holy brother*. Amidst the exertions of their obsequious tools, it was apparent [that] it was an up-hill piece of business in Wyandott.

Executed a Commission to J. B. Nones as Commissioner and Notary Public for Nebraska Territory.

Thursday, 13.—Went down to Kansas to see M^r and M^{rs} Clement on board a Steamer on their return to Ohio. A pleasant trip to ye. Farewell.

Thursday, 27.—Just getting over a most wanton and unprovoked attack of the Bilious Diarrhea which bro't me close to death's door.

Friday, 28.—Hired Isaac Big-Tree and James Armstrong to chop wood. In the evening they went home.

In the evening the M^{rs} Garretts and Miss Garrett called and staid till bed-time.

Monday, 31.—I suppose we may safely set down Thomas Johnston's election for delegate as certain. It is not at all surprising, when we look at the fearful odds between the opposing candidates. M^r Guthrie had only his personal friends to support him with their votes and influence, while the former had the whole power of the Federal Government, the presence and active support of the Commissioner of In-

dian Affairs, the Military, the Indian Agents, Missionaries, Indian Traders, &c. A combined power that is irresistible.

NOVEMBER, 1853.

Saturday, 5.—Rec'd a line from J. Walker informing me that Maj. Robinson, Indian Agent, had landed with the Annuity, and intended paying out on Monday.

Sunday, 6.—Wrote all day in copying the Pay Roll, having to make triplicates.

Monday, 7.—Attended at the Council House at an early hour, tho' in poor health. The Agent having been furnished with only \$17,500.00, leaving out \$5,000.00 due under the Treaty of 1850, the Council refused to receive it. So ended the payment. The whole [matter] was adjourned indefinitely.

The Territorial Council, Sec'y and Governor then proceeded to open the returns of the Territorial Election. After canvassing the Returns it appeared that Thomas Johnston had received the highest number of votes, and was declared duly elected delegate to the 33d Congress.

Came home having P. D. Clark as a guest.

Tuesday, 8.—J. W. Garrett, Deputy Secretary, attended at my House, and we issued the Certificate of election to Thomas Johnston, delegate elect to the 33rd Congress.

Friday, 11.—Beautiful, warm morning. This is "Indian summer."

Yoked up my Oxen and hauled home the Cabbage we bought from Mr^s Rankin; then all hands went to work and we made a $\frac{1}{2}$ Barrel of *Saur Kraut*, as good as ever was stowed away in the stomach of Governor Von Twillerer, or Peter the Headstrong.

Saturday, 12.—Mr Guthrie called and examined the election returns for delegate, and intends taking copies of them.

Sunday, 13.—Finished two letters. One to Mr O. H.

Browne, of Maryland, and the other to M^r Gilstrap, Editor of the "Bloomington Republican, both on Territorial Affairs.

Monday, 14.—Went out to hunt my villainous horses, but could find nothing of them and gave up the chase. M^{rs} W. then went out for the same purpose, but returned fatigued and equally unsuccessful. C. B. Garrett returned from Ohio.

Thursday, 17.—Rode out to hunt for my ox, but could not find him. Harriet gone to Kansas to see a sick friend, Miss Martha Smart.

Friday, 18.—Went out again to hunt my runaway ox. Travelled over "hill and dale," through jungles and thickets, swamps and morasses, but could find nothing of the old Scamp.

Sunday, 20.—Yesterday and to-day appointed for Quarterly Meeting; the weather being so unfavorable, there will not be much of a "turn out."

The rainy appearance of the sky prevented us from going to Church.

Monday, 21.—Went down to attend the Annuity payment. After much parleying and delay, the payment commenced. By omitting, for the present, ten deceased persons, the \$17,500 netted \$30 per capita to 585 persons. Not getting through, it was adjourned till to-morrow morning, 10 o'clock.

Tuesday, 22.—Resumed the payment of the Annuity, and closed at candle-light. A tedious job we have had of it.

Wednesday, 23.—M^{rs} W. and Martha set out this morning for Parkville, this [being] their first visit to that place.

Went to meet the Council and Maj. Robinson. Bo't of P. D. Clark an Osage Pony for \$28.00.

Came home wearied of the bustle and turmoil of an Indian payment. Our folks returned from Parkville about sunset.

Thursday, 24.—Wrote a communication to Col. Many-penny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, correcting an error in a communication published in the Missouri Democrat by M^r A. Guthrie in relation to a speech delivered by the former to the Wyandott Council.

Friday, 25.—M^r P. D. Clark sent my Osage Pony by his man "Friday."

Saturday, 26.—Rode out to Matthew Barnett's to recover my runaway ox, but could not find him. Returned home.

In the evening the Ladies from C. B. G.'s, accompanied by M^r Edgar Garret, came over and spent the evening with us.

Monday, 28.—Went the second time in pursuit of my ox. Found him at the Widow Kayroohoo's and had much trouble and difficulty in getting him home.

Went to attend the session of the Wyandott Council. Met Maj. Robinson there. Learned that the Widow Ronucay died yesterday. Came home in the evening.

J. Walker purchased the Agency buildings and other improvements at \$500.00.

Wednesday, 30.—Turned out my Osage Pony, and my two horses took turns in chasing her round the pasture. I then expelled one of them, supposing the other would then become more friendly and sociable with her; but no. He continued racing her round the pasture. I was compelled to put her in the stable for protection.

DECEMBER, 1853.

Thursday, 1.—Went to Church to hear Professor Southwick of Chapel Hill Academy, a Cumberland Presbyterian preacher. That portion of the sermon I heard was very good.

Saturday, 3.—Just heard that a deputation of Seneca

Chiefs had arrived, on public business with the Wyandott Council.

Attended the Council. Found seven Senecas, a deputation of Shawnees, and one of Delawares.

John Hatt, the Wyandott Principal Chief, opened the usual ceremonies, when the Senecas delivered a speech embracing the object of their Embassy.

The amount was to remind the Wyandotts that they were once appointed the keepers of the Council fire, and it was the wish of the Six Nations that they should re-kindle the fire in the West.

They were replied to thro' the Shawnees, that the Council fire had been rekindled in the West five years ago last October, and the reason why they (the six nations) were not invited to attend and assist in the ceremonies must be plain and obvious to them, viz: they did not belong to the Ancient Confederacy of N. W. Indians, but to the Iroquoise Confederacy; therefore could claim no rights, nor have any voice in it.

Sunday, 4.—To-day the members of Congress, instead of going to Church and say[ing] their prayers, are busily engaged in canvassing and intriguing about the Speakership and Clerkship of the House.

Monday, 5.—Rec'd a proposition to purchase our Piano, from Rev. Scarritt for his Select School in Westport. Lowest figure, \$200.00. The matter considered.

Beautiful day. *Indian summer*. To-day Congress meets.

To-day a fearful struggle takes place in the House of Representatives among the Candidates for Speaker and for Clerk. If the House gets organized to-day, the President's message will be delivered.

Sold our *Piano Forte* to Rev. N. Scarritt, Principal of the Westport High School, at \$200.00, 9 months credit.

Tuesday, 6.—M^r Dofflemeyer came with his Wagon to

take the Piano to Westport. We packed it up and shipped it off. Farewell, dispenser of sweet, concordant sounds!

The Council sent the Sheriff after me to attend their session. Well, I promptly and very decidedly refused. I thought it was time to have a short cessation of these public gatherings, and time to attend to my long neglected domestic affairs.

Friday, 9.—Finished reading “The Tenant of Wildfeld Hall.” I consider it one of the best written things of the Kind I have ever read. I like its terse and vigorous style of the pure old Anglo-Saxon dialect.

Wednesday, 14.—This evening a Cotillion party is to come off at the “Modie House” in Westport, but I cannot go, tho’ invited, owing to my crippled condition.

Thursday, 15.—Major Robinson sent for me to attend at the Council House. I went. He had received a communication from the Com. of Indian Affairs upon the subject of the \$5,000—explaining the cause of its non-payment.

P. D. Clark’s Protest was read to the Council.

Tuesday, 20.—Harriet and Baptiste set out for Kansas, but on arriving at the Ferry found the floating ice so thick and running so rapidly the Ferry Boat could not cross. So they gave it up and come home. Mr Dofflemeyer then proposed to Harriet that if she would go back with him, as he wanted to go over, he would venture with the Ferry Boat, and make the attempt to cross. They went and succeeded in crossing.

Friday, 23.—F. A. Hicks and Adam Brown called upon me to-day.

Finished a long letter in answer to one of enquiry about the general character of Nebraska, from some Ohio Yankees.

Saturday, 24.—To-day the “Sons of Temperance” have a celebration at the Church. In the evening the Division

was dismissed after its return to the Lodge Room. They made quite an imposing appearance when marching to, and from the Church. The repast, prepared for the Division and all who attended, was rich and bountiful. A social party at Isaac Brown's.

Monday, 26.—M^{rs} Hicks, M^{rs} Williams, and M^{rs} Charloe, all aged and venerable Widows, called upon us to-day to pay us the compliments of the season. They dined with us and took their leave. Shall we ever eat another Christmas Dinner together?

Wednesday, 28.—Harriet and our garcon, Baptiste galloping over the country for marketing. I, engaged in issuing cards of invitation. Thus the day passed away.

Thursday, 29.—I, and my garcon hauled a load of chips from the woods, amounting to nearly a cord of solid wood.

Russell Garrett, in company with Harriet and some other company, gone to the *Fair* at Westport.

Friday, 30.—M^r Dofflemeyer called this morning, and as usual, *in a hurry*. Our folks who went to attend the Westport Fair, returned at 2 P. M. amidst the storm.

Our women up to their "Eyebrows" in culinary operations for to-morrow's "Dinner party."

Saturday, 31.—The last and surviving day of Anno Domini 1853. At 10 o'clock A. M., snowing. A most uproarish and squally day: rain, snow, hail and dust circling in clouds in the wildest confusion and disorder.

At 12 M. our guests began to assemble. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 P. M., they were seated and the Dinner went off with a fine relish, and enjoyment. At 7 in the evening the young people assembled for a "Social party." The party went off with much hilarity and good feeling. Dispersed at 11 o'clock.

JANUARY, 1854.

Sunday, 1.—A happy New Year!

Clear and pleasant morning for the first day of the year.

The house is silent, our Company dispersed. A good time for serious reflection upon the fleeting and unsubstantial enjoyments of this world. The old year, '53, passed out last night amid the moanings and wild and unearthly shrieks of a furious N. W. wind.

Pleasant day. Lonesome—no one called upon us to-day.

Wednesday, 4.—Invited to a dinner party at F. A. Hicks's to-day.

Attended and found a goodly company. Had a splendid dinner. At night the young people had a party.

Thursday, 5.—Went down to attend the session of the Treaty Committee, and in the absence of J. Walker, was appointed Clerk. Proje[c]ts of Treaties were submitted to the consideration of the Committee by Clark and myself. These were discussed till sunset, then adjourned. An awful[ly] cold and windy day. Came home, and glad to reach my own fireside.

Sunday, 8.—Wrote a long letter to A. Guthrie.

Monday, 9.—Attended the session of the Committee, Came home in the evening. M. R. & J. Walker came over, and staid till bed-time, discussing treaty making matters.

Tuesday, 10.—Harriet gone to Kansas on a visit to the Campbells.

Sun set clear. Writing a long letter to Joseph Howard Washington.

Wednesday, 11.—Got up too early. We were deceived by our silly Chanticleers tuning up their pipes at an unreasonable hour.

Succeeded in extracting a troublesome tooth from my Jaw, with my fingers, instead of Forceps and Turnkeys. Farewell, *old grinder!* Well, I am getting dismembered. I am

getting "small by degrees" and unhandsomely "less." I am in the beginning of '54, one tooth less than in '53.

Thursday, 12.—Attended the session of the Treaty Committee. Came home in the evening.

Received two letters from A. Guthrie. In trouble again. Wants certificates to prove his charges against Commissioner Manypenny. I can't help him much.

Friday, 13.—Wrote a long letter to A. Guthrie. Cold all day.

Saturday, 14.—Harriet returned from her visit to the "Campbells."

Monday, 16.—Commenced reading "Guy Mannering" by W. Scott.

Wrote a memorial to the Department of the Interior on the subject of some grants of land by the Treaty of Upper Sandusky, O.

Wednesday, 18.—Got our mail. Rec'd thro' M. R. W. some letters. One from A. Guthrie, and [one] from J. T. Jones, of Circleville, O.

Finished reading Guy Mannering.

Thursday, 19.—Attended the session of the Treaty Committee. Come home in the evening.

Friday, 20.—The ground is white with snow and sleet.

This day (it is now 2 P. M.) may well be compared to one of Iceland's brag days. Done nothing but carry wood and keep a burning *log heap* in my fire-place. Everything out doors bears a dreary and chilling aspect, at once depressing and cheerless. Whew! but this will be a stinging night!

Monday, 23.—Attended the session of the Treaty Committee. Came home in the evening.

Thursday, 26.—Attended the session of the Committee. In the evening, wind from the North.

Saturday, 28.—Sent Baptiste to Kansas. Rec'd an "Ohio State Journal." This is the amount of my mail. Guthrie

out on Col. Manypenny again. The former, I fear, will come off second best. He is imprudent and rash.

M^{iss} Armstrong and M^{iss} Hunter called to-day.

Sunday, 29.—Attended the session of the Committee. Warm afternoon.

Tuesday, 31.—Went to town, expecting Maj. Robinson over. Staid till 12 o'clock. Came home. The Sheriff called upon me and informed me that he had arrived and desired my attendance. He paid over to the Chiefs the amount of the appropriation, \$2,285.00. Then gave notice that he [would] pay over to the heads of families the \$5,000.00 of which he was minus at the Payment of the Annuity last fall.

FEBRUARY, 1854.

Wednesday, 1.—To-day the Chiefs are to pay out the public liabilities. Attended to the disbursement of the public liabilities.

Friday, 3.—Sick.

Saturday, 4.—Engaged, sick as I am, in making out the Pay Rolls. Heck repaired the Clock.

Sunday, 5.—Confined to bed part of the time, and a part [of the time] employed on the Pay Rolls.

J. W. Garrett and Lady spent the evening with us.

Tuesday, 7.—Finished the Pay Rolls.

I was visited to-day by a creature made after the manner of men, but whose actions, talk, and every movement went to prove what I had ever before doubted, that it is possible for all the evils—all that is depraved—all that is devilish—all that is abominable—all that is brutal, and, in short, all that disgraces human nature, can be concentrated in one individual. I have known this creature about 30 years. I place on record that, from and after Tuesday, Feb. 7, '54, I know him no more as a MAN.

Wednesday, 8.—Bed-fast. Doctor Wright attending on

me. My complaint, inflammation of the lungs. Syntoms alarming.

MARCH, 1854.

Saturday, 4.—I am now able to set up a few minutes at a time, being wearied with the recumbent position I have so long been compelled to submit to.

Rev. E. T. Peery and Lady called over and spent the day.

Sunday, 5.—Our folks went to Church, and I kept my bed. M. R. W. and J. Walker called upon me.

Monday, 6.—Mending slowly. The Treaty Committee meet to-day.

Tuesday, 7.—Regaining my strength slowly.

Thursday, 9.—Cold and blustering day.

Ennui—Vaporish—Low spirits—.

Friday, 10.—Clear and pleasant. Harriet and Baptiste went to Kansas. Got three newspapers—read everything in them.

Saturday, 11.—Clear, frosty morning. Sent Baptiste to the Post Office, and got one paper.

Sunday, 12.—In the evening Mr. Searcy and a Doctor Bacon from Liberty called upon us.

Monday, 13.—Heard that J. S. Coon was killed in a drunken brawl, by [a] Negro, near Memphis.

Thursday, 16.—Isaac P. Driver engaged in repairing the yard and Garden fences.

J. D. Brown called and spent the evening with us.

Friday, 17.—Cold and blustering all day. It is said there are cases of Canine madness among the dogs in the neighborhood. Exterminate them!

Saturday, 18.—My boy Baptiste, having completed his three months service, the length of time for which I engaged him, went home to-day.

Sunday, 19.—Cold morning. Having but little else to write I will record the vote in the Senate on the passage of the Nebraska and Kansas Territorial Bill.

Yeas. Adams, Atchison, Badger, Bayard, Benjamin, Broadhead, Brown, Butler, Cass, Clay, Dawson, Dixon, Dodge, Douglas, Evans, Fitzpatrick, Geyer, Given, Hunter, Johnston, Jones, Masterson, Morris, Petit, Pratt, Rusk, Sebastian, Shields, Slidell, Stewart, Thompson of Ky., Thompson of N. J., Toucey, Weller, & Williams 35.

Nays. Belle, Chase, Dodge of W., Fessenden, Fish, Foot, Hamlin, Jones, Smith, Sumner, Wade, Bright.

Monday, 20.—Raining. James Bearskin came to work. J. W. Garrett called and staid a while.

In the evening J. D. Brown called and staid till night. It has been a damp misty day.

Tuesday, 21.—The heavens hung with a black drapery. About 1 o'clock P. M. the sky cleared up and the afternoon was warm and pleasant.

Thursday, 23.—Clear, frosty morning. I have my old difficulties in hiring hands. I hired James Bearskin for half a month. He went off last evening to get his Boot repaired, but I suspect [he] has gone to Kansas and is on a spree. This is the last of the vagabond.

Went to Kansas; waited four or five hours for Major Robinson, who had requested me to meet him there, but [he] did not make his appearance.

Sunday, 26.—Cold and cloudy morning. Furnished a Passport to Susannah Williams.

Tuesday, 28.—Whew! snow on the ground. Therm. below Freezing point. Storm, Rain, Snow, Sleet, "in an horrible tempest." March came in like a Lamb and is going out like the Devil.

Wednesday, 29.—Everything out of doors covered with

ice. Raining, sleet and snow. 12 o'clock A. M., raining. Horrible weather truly.

Heard that Hon. Thomas Johnston, Delegate elect from this Territory returned from Washington yesterday.

"Turn a new leaf" for April.

APRIL, 1854.

Saturday, 1.—"All fools day." Clear and frosty, Therm. 25°. The fruit, I apprehend, is as dead as a mackerel.

Sent a letter for M^r Green and one for D^r Carter to the P. O.

Some "warmint" has taken up his Quarters in either the corn-crib, Stable, or Hen-house and commits continual nocturnal depredations upon the poultry and Eggs. It is either a mink, Weasel, or Polecat.

Sunday, 2.—Well this will do very well for the 2nd day of April.

As soon as I got up I peeped out and lo! a white glittering frost. I next peeped at the Thermometer and guess what? 15°!! yes, within 15° of zero. This temperature we ought to have had in January.

Farewell Fruit!

"Sic transit gloria mundi.

Fifteen degrees for this Sunday.

Machine poetry.

Wind shifted "right about face," after having done all the harm by its cold Northern blasts and frost on the fruit.

Monday, 3.—M^r Brainson ploughing our Garden. Ground too wet, but go ahead.

Went to attend a meeting of the Committee when the project of the Treaty was read and received, amended and adopted.

Tuesday, 4.—To-day the Council meets and I really do not see how I am to attend, unless it calls a halt. I attended after the rain held up.

Thursday, 6.—Went up to Westport to meet Major Robinson. Got my Quarter's pay. Came home.

Saturday, 8.—This day 30 years ago I was made double by being spliced with a rib.

Sunday, 9.—In the evening tho' kept a profound secret, a wedding came off at the Parsonage. But it was not as much of a secret as the getters-up supposed, for at night a real original *Charivari* wound up the evenings entertainment. The Bride was M^{iss} Catharine Ann Dofflemeyer and the Groom, G. W. King, alias G. W. Thompson.

"The sweet concordant sounds" produced by a union of Drums, Tin Pans, Tin Horns, Sleigh Bells and everything capable of producing a racket, were faithfully used till 11 o'clock to the no small annoyance of the Parson.

Monday, 10.—My execrations upon mail contractors! Twice have I sent to the P. O. and the cry is "Nothing for you": when I ought to have a half Bushel of papers.

Tuesday, 11.—Attended the session of the Council. Martha's application for a divorce from William Gilmore was taken up and considered. A decree made dissolving the marriage tie.

The Delaware and Shawnee delegation left Kansas to-day for Washington, on board the "Polar Star."

Saturday, 15.—Clear and cold morning, but thanks to a Kind Providence no frost. The fruit has thus far escaped.

Sunday, 16.—A few days ago I received a letter from Lyman C. Draper, Esq., notifying me of my election to an Honorary Membership of the Historical Society of Wisconsin. So, I must prepare a paper for a contribution. What can I do? Well, I will hatch up something.

Monday, 17.—Therm. at daylight, 22°! A hard freeze. This may truly be called "a nipping frost." It has effectually nipp'd the fruit, the peaches and plums especially.

Tuesday, 18.—And sure enough, another severe frost. So

we have it. Keep it up till August. "Storm after storm" and frost after frost.

Went to attend the session of the Council.

M^{rs} W. went to Kansas to purchase family supplies.

Another Boat-load of Danish Mormans landed at the Pond.

MAY, 1854.

Sunday, 14.—Wrote a long letter to John H. Cotter, in California.

Monday, 15.—Went in pursuit of my horses. Found them, secured one, but could not drive the other, nor would he follow. I came home, saddled up and went in pursuit. I soon found him; then we had a regular steeple chase. I ran him all over the country with a long Goad in my hand and whenever I got near enough, I plied him with it. Getting weary of the sport, he turned his head homeward. By way of punishment for his perverse conduct, I fastened a heavy toggle to his fore leg to regulate his powers of locomotion.

Tuesday, 16.—In the evening we were favored with the company of some young Ladies who staid all night.

Thursday, 18.—Beautiful and calm morning. At 10 o'clock the "Sons of Temperance" assembled at the Lodge and marched in procession to a grove near Silas Armstrong's to celebrate the Anniversary of the formation of the Division. The exercises commenced by the presentation to the Division of the Bible by M^{iss} Tabitha Armstrong, accompanied with a suitable address which was received and responded to by Cyrus Garrett. An ode was then sung. Then the presentation of a Banner by the Ladies of Wyandott, thro' M^{iss} Harriet Walker, accompanied with a thrilling speech prepared for the occasion. Then another Temperance Ode was sung. An eloquent speech was then delivered by a M^r Mil-

ler of Parkville. Several [other] speeches were delivered when the Division marched back to their Lodge.

Of the banner I would say the Upholster imposed upon the Ladies most scandalously. It is entirely too small, and the Artistic work bunglingly done; and [he] charged them \$19.00 [for it].

Friday, 19.—In the afternoon [I] employed myself in writing letters, or rather answering a pile I have on my table.

Saturday, 20.—Cloudy and an occasional sprinkling of rain. But it turned out [a] pleasant and cool day. Wrote nearly all day.

Sunday, 21.—Clear morning and it turned out a pleasant day.

Wrote to C. Carpenter and P. Muir. Took a stroll and called upon Matthew [R. Walker] spent some time in social chat with him and family.

Monday, 22.—Cool morning. Worked in my Garden. Pleasant day. The Kansas River rising. Cool and pleasant evening. The Delaware and Shawnee Chiefs returned.

Tuesday, 23.—Harriet gave a party to the young Ladies and Gentlemen of the neighborhood. They were a real set of romps, and enjoyed themselves to the life, and the party broke up about 11 o'clock at night, all in the best possible humor.

Thursday, 25.—Rec'd two letters; one from Col. Browne of Maryland, and another from a G. W. Brown of Coneautville, Penna., an Abolition Editor.

It is supposed the Nebraska-Kansas bill has passed the House. So mote it be.

Friday, 26.—Raining. This is the day for the Solar Eclipse. Showery and cloudy. Looking out for the appearance of the Eclipse.

Well, the Eclipse came off, but if we had not been previously informed by the Almanac, we never would have been

avored with the phenomena. By the use of a piece of smoked glass we could perceive the new moon which had just changed, passing over the Northern limb; but the obscuration was scarcely perceptible. This partial Eclipse lasted a little over two hours. The drifting clouds and occasional showers frequently hid the two luminaries from our view.

Saturday, 27.—It is supposed the Nebraska-Kansas Bill has passed the House.

The brethern of the "Mystic tie" are about forming a Lodge in Wyandott.

Monday, 29.—To-day the great Rail Road meeting comes off at Parkville. It was my intention to have attended, but such is the inclemency of the weather that I am deter'd from venturing out.

Went in search of M^{iss} Topsey who was supposed to be the happy mother of a *young one*. I searched all day, glen and thicket, hill and dale, without success. In the evening she came up with the beautiful little one.

Tuesday, 30.—Harriet and several of her cronies have gone up to the Prairies on a Strawberry frolic.

Wrote to Col. O. H. Browne. Martha returned from Kansas, and all I got was an obscure Ohio Newspaper and M^r Senator Norris's speech on the Nebraska and Kansas Bill. Well, this was truly a sad disappointment! When in fact I expected to hear from the great Russo-Turco-Anglo-Gaulo War, and [to] hear of the Territorial Bill being passed, a few duels in Congress, the annexation of Cuba and the Polynesian Isles, the chaining of the Devil a thousand years. But I have heard nothing!

Wednesday, 31.—Engaged in answering a letter I received from an Abolition Editor in Pennsylvania.

JUNE, 1854.

Thursday, 1.—Resumed my letter to the Penna. Editor and finished [it], making eleven pages of manuscript. Wrote also to M^{rs} E. J. Barrett, now at Morristown, Ohio.

Friday, 2.—Clear and beautiful morning. Settled with Dan'l Dofflemeyer for putting in my Oats crop and hauling cordwood. Sent the Domestic to Kansas for our mail.

The Charter granted by King Charles the Second, to the Hudson Bay Company, is dated 1670.

Saturday, 3.—M^{rs} W. [and I] and M^r and M^{rs} Priestley went over to Esquire McGee's to execute deeds, but unfortunately he was away from home. We came home without accomplishing our business. So we have another trip to make.

Sunday, 4.—Rainy. M^r J. K. Goodin and family came over from Kansas to stay a few days. They are from Hardin County, Ohio.

Monday, 5.—Clear morning. M^r G. set out for Fort Riley on an exploring tour.

Lost our Ferry Boat again.

Tuesday, 6.—Attended the session of the Council.

Tuesday, 13.—Attended the session of the Council. Major Robinson present, and paid to the Council the half year's School fund.

A certain infamous Doctor landed, from Franklin County, Ohio, having his equally infamous family with him.

Wednesday, 14.—M^{rs} Goodin left, intending to go to Weston to rejoin her husband.

Thursday, 15.—J. Walker, and the——X——called upon us to-day. Impudence brazen faced, on the part of the latter.

Saturday, 17.—Clear and pleasant morning. Went to mill for the first time in Wyandott, and got my grist ground.

Heard of the recovery of the Ferry Boat. Mr McQuiddy and a Mr Allen called and spent the afternoon.

Sunday, 18.—Staid at home all day. Wrote a communication for the "Cadiz Sentinel."

Monday, 19.—Clear and beautiful morning. Mrs W. and I took a ride on the banks of the Rio. Missouri.

Tuesday, 20.—The Council held a session to-day, but I did not attend.

Wednesday, 21.—Clear and bright morning. I do earnestly [hope] these everlasting drenching rains will cease for awhile, that those sluices in the Clouds will be for a season closed up and if need be, sent to some drouthy part of the globe.

We have had no mail for near two weeks for the want of a Boat to cross the river. Altho' the Boat was caught at Richfield, about forty miles from here, yet our worthless Council and still more worthless Ferryman take no steps towards getting it bro't up again. A pretty set of fellows to want to maintain a separate government.

Splendid evening. The bright Luminary of day receded slowly behind the Western Hills with a most smiling and agreeable face.

Thursday, 22.—Beautiful morning, promising a beautiful tho' warm day.

Went to the city of Wyandott, and found the City deserted; all gone out into the country.

Saturday, 24.—Bright and warm morning. Harriet and Sarah Driver set out for Kansas, riding to the river and footing it the rest of the road. A warm time they've had of it.

At night we were alarmed by Harriets illness. Nervous headache and vertigo.

I have thus closed my scrap and fragmentary Diary. This the 25 day [of] June A. D. 1854.

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